

UNIVERSITY OF WINCHESTER

FACULTY OF EDUCATION, HEALTH AND SOCIAL CARE

**NEW ARRIVALS, NEW CHALLENGES:
THE EXPERIENCES OF PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHERS MANAGING
THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE ACQUISITION
OF POLISH CHILDREN**

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Abstract

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New Arrivals, New Challenges: The Experiences of Primary
School Teachers Managing the English Language Acquisition of
Polish Children

Naomi Teresa Flynn

Schools in England have recently undergone a shift in their pupil demographic which in part reflects changing patterns of trans-European migration since the accession of new member states to the EU in 2004 and 2007 (DCSF, 2008b). There is evidence that this shift is one experienced not just in inner-city schools most commonly associated with ethnic minority populations, but in a wide range of schools in rural and smaller town settings in a number of counties across the country (Vertovec, 2007b).

This research explored the responses of English primary school teachers, from a county in the south of England, to Polish children arriving after 2006. Interviews were conducted with a group of teachers with differing levels of confidence and experience in supporting the language acquisition of English language learners. Using Bourdieu's logic of practice and constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006), interview data are analysed in order to explore how teachers define their practice for teaching English to both native speakers and to children who are English language learners. The nature of teachers' subject knowledge is studied in terms of its influence on confidence, or otherwise, to adapt pedagogy in the face of changing pupil need. Teachers' responses to difference are considered in relation to children and families of the 'new migration' (Favell, 2008).

Findings highlight that teachers' subject knowledge for the teaching of English is complex and related to a blend of experience, belief and understanding. Furthermore, that teachers are more influenced by a centrally controlled curriculum for English than they may realise. Implications for policy and practice relating to the teaching of children who are English language learners in an increasingly diverse Britain are discussed.

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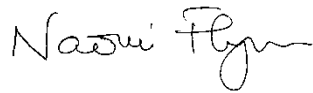
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Declaration of Authorship

I declare that this thesis entitled *New Arrivals, New Challenges: The Experiences of Primary School Teachers Managing the English Language Acquisition of Polish Children* is the result of original work done wholly by myself whilst in registered candidature.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading 'Naomi Flynn'. The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, stylized 'N' and 'F'.

Naomi Flynn, May 2012

Dedication

For my very best beloveds:
Barry, Hannah, Martha and Ellie

and

for my much-loved and loving father Robert Keen (1934-2010) who I wish was here to read this.

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Very grateful thanks to my supervisors Bridget Egan and Rhona Stainthorp for their tireless mentoring, their considerable wisdom, their belief in my capacity to finish what I had started and in the importance of what I had to say.

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Profound thanks are due to the teaching professionals who bravely engaged in interview with me and allowed me to share their thoughts about their practice. I hope that I have told their stories faithfully, honestly and respectfully. Thanks also to their schools for embracing difference with open hearts, and for providing inclusive educational environments that make me proud to be a member of the teaching profession.

Glossary of Acronyms

BERA	British Educational Research Association
DCSF	Department for Children, Families and Schools (Labour government education department 2006-2010)
DfE	Department for Education (Coalition government education department 2010 – present)
DES	Department of Education and Science (Conservative government education department 1988 – 1997)
DfES	Department for Education and Science (Labour government education department 1997 – 2006)
EAL	English as an additional language
L1	First language (mother tongue)
L2	Second language (or additional language spoken other than mother tongue)
LSA	Learning Support Assistant
NALDIC	National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum
NFER	National Foundation for Educational Research
NLP	National Literacy Project
NLS	National Literacy Strategy
NQT	Newly Qualified Teacher
OfSTED	Office for Standards in Education
ONS	Office of National Statistics
PNS	Primary National Strategy (for Literacy)
QCA	Qualifications and Curriculum Council
SEN	Special Educational Needs
SENCO	Special Educational Needs Co-ordinator
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
TDA	Teacher Development Agency

Introduction

Rationale for the Research

In the first part of the twenty first century ‘super-diversity’ characterises neighbourhoods in UK cities and, more recently, there is evidence of a growing diversity in smaller towns and villages (Vertovec, 2007b, 2010). Schools in England have recently undergone a shift in their pupil demographic which in part reflects changing patterns of trans-European migration since the accession of new member states to the EU in 2004 and 2007 (DCSF, 2008b). Ethnic diversity in UK school communities has previously been associated with inner-city school settings; however, among the number of migrants coming to the UK since 2004 are citizens from EU accession states who are settling in areas not previously associated with migrant populations. At the start of this project a significant number of these were Polish: by September 2010 they made up one of the three largest non-UK born population groups in all countries and most regions in the UK (ONS, 2011). These Polish workers and their families are often referred to as part of a ‘new migration’ (Favell, 2008). This shift in pupil demographic has meant that teachers teaching in areas not previously associated with ‘difference’ are having to adapt their teaching repertoire to accommodate the linguistic and cultural needs of newly arrived children whose home language is not English.

The main focus of this research grew from an identified need for a greater level of empirical data relating to the teaching of children with English as an additional language (EAL) (Andrews, 2009). Research among children with EAL in English primary schools has centred mainly on studies of children operating in a range of languages, rather than on the teacher as facilitator of language acquisition. Such studies have revealed a complex picture of children with EAL in the 3 – 11 age range; both as beginner bilinguals struggling with spoken English (Parke & Drury, 2001; Robertson, 2002; Siraj-Blatchford & Clarke, 2000) and as fluent English speakers who face problems with reading comprehension and writing in the English writing system (Cameron & Besser, 2004; Hutchinson, Whiteley, Smith, & Connors, 2003). There appear to be very few studies conducted in England that have explored the experience for children who speak a home language that is European rather than African or South Asian, and even fewer that have ventured

outside inner-city schools which may be perceived as the common home of children from migrant families.

Thus, existing research has concentrated largely on inner-city settings and has been conducted in schools where the majority of children speak a home language other than English (Cameron & Besser, 2004; Cameron, Moon, & Bygate, 1996; Gregory, 1996 2001; Hutchinson, et al., 2003; Kenner & Kress, 2003; Parke & Drury, 2001; Robertson, 2002; Stuart, 2004). In some research a deficit model of the teacher of EAL learners is presented (Cummins, 2000; Parke, Drury, Kenner, & Robertson, 2002; Robertson, 2002) but other studies reveal positive strengths (Flynn, 2007a; Flynn & Stainthorp, 2006). The secondary focus in these studies tends to be on how the response of teachers to their children can support or inhibit both second language acquisition and cultural adjustment. In general therefore, research identifying issues related to EAL learners' English language teaching from the practitioners' point of view is scarce, and even more limited when related to county rather than inner-city settings.

In addition to focussing mainly on high-density EAL settings, recent research in the classroom has quite often engaged with wider issues of cultural rather than linguistic difference (Comber, Thomson, & Wells, 2001; Goldstein, 2008; Gregory, 2001; Pagett, 2006; Pearce, 2003). To some extent this is because the field of second language acquisition research is divided into those who explore the socio-cultural aspects of learning and those who are drawn to comparatively positivist studies of language acquisition from a psycho-linguistic point of view (Wong Kwok Shing, 2006). Studies exploring how children learn the detail of particular aspects of spoken or written second language tend towards a view of the classroom that does not take account of the teacher or the wider context of the social world of the school, and in this way they present findings that may be unfamiliar to the classroom practitioner. Conversely, studies that set out to take account of the teacher and the classroom quite frequently use English language learners as their starting point but do not necessarily focus on how they acquire English and on what the teacher does to facilitate this.

In summary, the findings of existing studies are valuable in terms of identifying the main needs for children as they master English as a second or additional language, but they do not

necessarily present a familiar picture for the teacher in a county school with only one or two English language learners in the classroom. The arrival of Polish children to schools in a county in the south of England, following Poland's accession to the EU in 2004, generated a need for research that can support the teacher of isolated bilinguals. Data revealed that, although population clusters existed, individual families also moved to smaller towns and villages in the region (ONS, 2011) creating a pattern of small numbers of Polish and other Eastern European learners in school settings unaccustomed to difference. This meant that Polish children were in schools in areas where access to teachers with experience of managing second language acquisition was likely to be limited (Rutter, 2007)

A focus on Polish children in particular was appropriate because they have emerged as the largest single national group of Eastern Europeans to have arrived and stayed in the UK since EU accession (DCSF, 2006a; Gaine, 2007; ONS, 2011). There is a recent, small set of research related to the Polish experience in the UK and other European countries, which at present focuses on issues of migration or on issues of language acquisition from the point of view of the families and children. Work by Ryan and colleagues at Middlesex University has explored the role of mothers in building social capital among Polish migrant families in London (Ryan, Sales, Tilki, & Siara, 2008, 2009). The work has been valuable in identifying a potential trend in Polish migration as being one characterised by the intention to stay for the longer term (Ryan, et al., 2009). This is significant in terms of research relating to schools because the long term investment in staying in the UK is chiefly related to the mothers of young children who want lifestyle choices for their families that are not possible in Poland (p.68). Similar high levels of aspiration have been identified in The Polish Diaspora Project (Singleton, Regan, & Debaene, 2009) which studied opportunities for English language acquisition by children and families in Ireland and France . While each of these projects focussed on inner city migration, and neither on teachers, their findings resonated with the pilot exploration of Polish children's arrival in schools undertaken for this research, and further supported a view that research into this particular community was potentially of interest to the field of education.

The Researcher's Context

The research for this thesis uses an interpretive paradigm, and as such some explicit recognition of the researcher's context is essential in order that the reader might better understand the drivers underpinning the research aims (Guba & Lincoln, 2000) .

The choice of a focus on how teachers in a county setting might manage English language acquisition was rooted in a desire to explore teacher experience in schools less commonly presented in research. This was partnered with the need to consider whether the teaching of English language learners differs between inner city and county settings; something that guidance for teachers does not take particular account of explicitly. In earlier work I studied the classroom practice of teachers in schools with high numbers of EAL learners in inner London (Flynn, 2007a, 2007b; Flynn & Stainthorp, 2006). The analysis from these observations led to an understanding of how good teachers of second language learners hold deep subject knowledge for both first and second language acquisition; that they plan lessons that take account of children's stage of language development; that their classrooms are characterised by respectful relationships which celebrate difference; and that they assume high standards of attainment are possible regardless of children's ethnic, linguistic, cultural or social background. This earlier publication made some attempt to address the divide between socio-cultural and psycholinguistic research relating to second language acquisition.

My own years as a primary school teacher were defined by practice in inner-city schools which were in areas of social and economic deprivation. For the most part, this also meant that they had pupil populations who were ethnically and culturally diverse. Moreover, I worked in schools where linguistic difference was 'mainstream': for example, in my last post before leaving for academia I was a Headteacher of an East London primary school where 23 languages were spoken and 40% of the pupils were other than white British. My working practice, until a move out of London in 2003, has always been in direct contrast to my own upbringing which positions me as unequivocally White British, educated and middle class.

Another significant aspect of working life that has influenced this research is my experience in school during a long period of educational reform; in particular, reform of the way in which English was taught in schools in the 1990s and into the early years of this century. This period saw the introduction of a nationally prescribed curriculum for the teaching of literacy - the National Literacy Strategy (NLS) (DfES, 2001) and its rigorously structured pedagogical tool 'The Literacy Hour'. In 1997 my school took part in the pilot project for the NLS, the National Literacy Project (NLP); our results for reading and writing were considered too low when compared to national averages, thus we were included in this initiative which was introduced as a way of raising literacy attainment in primary school pupils. Both the NLP and the later NLS were part of a wider attempt to control the teaching of English, and by definition attainment in English, on a hitherto unseen national scale (Fullan, 2000). The impact of the NLP and NLS on the teaching of English nationally has been profound, and, as such, is discussed in more detail in chapter 1.

Leaving London and taking up a post in teacher education in a county setting in 2003 presented new challenges. I was observing student teachers in schools that were unfamiliar; the pupil populations had, to my eyes, an alien affluence and homogeneity about them. Increasingly, after 2004, students reported isolated children arriving from Eastern Europe and enrolling in schools in areas not previously associated with families from other countries. Teachers appeared anxious in two ways: they felt under-skilled in the classroom and they were unsure how to respond to the needs of children who did not fit a norm that would succeed at age-expected levels in English. This discomfort, so it seemed, stemmed in part from their inexperience with difference, but also from their position in an educational agenda that demanded a particular pedagogy for the teaching of English and the measurement of success in English according to a very specific set of assessment criteria (Fisher, 2004; Flynn, 2007b; Moore, Edwards, Halpin, & George, 2002). Thus the field in which the research was conducted was one that incorporated multiple layers of experience, inexperience and history for the teachers and the researcher.

Research Aims

Research aims were shaped taking account of the national and local context in primary schools in terms of the teaching of English, the impact of migration from Eastern Europe on schools unaccustomed to ‘difference’, and my pre-existing research interest in how teachers adapt their pedagogy for second language learners in inner-city settings. The overarching aim of this research is to critically analyse the experiences of teachers in primary schools in a county setting in the south of England, where no children or a minority of children have EAL, who are managing the English language acquisition of Polish children.

Specifically the aims are as follows:

- 1) To identify the key issues for teachers of newly arrived Polish children in schools in low-density EAL areas
- 2) To identify the experiences and attitudes of primary school teachers in relation to planning for bilingual learners in low-density EAL settings
- 3) To explore and observe whether these attitudes change over time
- 4) To analyse the experiences of teachers of Polish children over at least a one year period
- 5) To analyse the challenges for teachers of EAL learners in low-density EAL settings in terms of Bourdieusian theory relating to linguistic habitus and linguistic field.

The Structure of This Thesis

The thesis is divided into three sections. Section 1, the literature review, consists of three chapters which set a context for the research. Section 2, the methodology and methods, is presented as two chapters which focus on the theoretical and practical aspects of the research design. Section 3, the findings and analysis, is a series of four chapters. The first three chapters of this section outline an analysis of the data collected for the research, and the final chapter presents a summary and conclusion which considers implications of the study and for future research.

Section 1 The Literature Review (chapters 1 – 3)

In chapter 1 the field in which teachers teach English in England is explored. This chapter charts the progress of a National Curriculum for English as implemented by successive governments from 1989 onwards, including the growth of nationally administered guidance for the teaching of EAL learners. It highlights research relating to a teaching profession who have been subject to educational change and to the centralisation of educational policy over several decades which has resulted in a perceived control of pedagogy that may have become unconsciously assimilated (Moore, et al., 2002). Finally, this chapter analyses the ways in which schools are communities of practice (Rogoff, 2003; Wenger, 1998) and it explores how teachers' working environments may shape teacher identity and broker the development of expertise.

Chapter 2 scrutinises the potential nature of teachers' subject knowledge for the teaching of English. It starts by developing an epistemology for teachers' knowledge and understanding that reflects the complexity of teachers' professional development over time. First language development and second language acquisition are presented both theoretically and practically: theoretically in terms of the range of research identifying how language use develops and practically in terms of how effective practice for language development in the classroom might be defined. The discussion draws on existing research identifying how teaching that best supports first language development or second language acquisition rests on a combination of practical and theoretical subject knowledge.

Chapter 3 of this thesis introduces the work of Bourdieu, whose view of the world in social sciences research takes account of the potential for complexities in the lives of both the observer and the observed (Bourdieu, 1990a). The terms field, habitus, doxa and capital are defined in relation to education and the classroom. Analysis of recent research maps the shifting field in the classroom in terms of the impact of migration and teachers' responses to difference. Bourdieu's particular beliefs about the use of language as power (Bourdieu, 1991) are discussed as a system for analysing the way in which teachers' relationship with both their pedagogy for English and with children whose first language is not English might coexist.

Section 2 The Methodology and the Method in Practice (chapters 4 and 5)

Chapter 4 sets out the research paradigm, the research approach, and the methodological tools used in this project. The discussion presents a defence of the choice of a qualitative paradigm which uses an interpretive approach, supported by constructivist grounded theory, in which the sole research instrument is the use of interview. Consideration of interview as a research tool is analysed with reference to the pitfalls of an interpretive approach and in terms of the complexities of talking with professionals about their practice. Virtue ethics are introduced and justified as the context for framing the researcher's response to both the participants and the analysis of the interview data. The choice of a Bourdieusian philosophical framework is matched to the research design in order to demonstrate the close fit between the research field and the lens involved in data analysis.

In chapter 5 the theoretical discussion of the research design is presented in practice. The social and geographical context of the research is explained in terms of the school settings, and the group of teachers interviewed are introduced. There is a commentary tracking the progress of interview and data collection over two years and of the on-going analysis of data using computer assisted qualitative data analysis (CAQDAS). This discussion includes reference to the coding of data using the software programme NVivo (QSR, 2006, 2010) and the definition of categories for coding that relate to Bourdieusian constructs of field, habitus, doxa and capital.

Section 3 Findings, Analysis and Conclusion (chapters 6 – 9)

Chapter 6 analyses the data in terms of the linguistic field. Curricular and policy-related influences on teachers' pedagogic habitus are explored in terms of the ways in which teachers describe their practice for the teaching of English and for the teaching of EAL learners. Teachers' responses to their communities of practice as part of the linguistic field are examined, as are the tensions related to the linguistic field in terms of leadership, funding and resources for supporting children with EAL.

In chapter 7 the notion of linguistic capital is explored in relation to teachers' demonstration of their confidence in terms of practical and theoretical subject knowledge. There is an analysis of teachers' expression of their understanding of the pedagogical choices that they make for teaching both first and second language learners in English. The epistemology of teacher subject knowledge presented in chapter 2 is used to reflect how teachers' beliefs about their teaching are often synonymous with their understanding and their subject knowledge. The construct of linguistic capital throws in to relief the varying levels of confidence that teachers have in their capacity to manage the language acquisition needs of EAL learners. Furthermore, there is discussion of the conflation of linguistic, social and cultural capital which governs the teachers' responses both to their own subject knowledge and to the language use of their Polish children. The chapter concludes with a case study of one school and the systems established to support the social and linguistic needs of newly-arrived EAL learners.

Chapter 8 departs to some extent from the principal focus of language acquisition and literacy development, and analyses the teachers' responses to difference more generally. Specifically it explores the response of teachers to Polish children and their families. A view of teachers as 'carers' is examined in relation to teachers' inclusive teaching habitus. Beliefs about Polish children and their parents are scrutinised, and the analysis explores how these support the development of relationships built on 'elective affinities' (Grenfell & James, 1998).

In chapter 9 the findings from chapters 6 – 8 are summarised and relevant overarching themes are identified. The methodological framework and the research design are considered and critiqued in terms of their value in interpreting the interview data. Attention is focussed on Bourdieu's logic of practice and its usefulness as a lens, when combined with constructivist grounded theory, for interpretation of interview data relating to language and literacy development in the classroom. Implications for policy relating to the teaching of English, for support for teachers in adapting their pedagogy to accommodate second language acquisition and for further research are identified and discussed in the conclusion.

SECTION 1 The Literature Review and an Introduction to Bourdieu

Chapter 1: The Linguistic Field in English Primary Schools

This chapter sets out the background to the teaching context within which the teachers in this research were operating. It explores and analyses the potential impact of curriculum change and control over time for the teaching of English to both first and second language learners. Furthermore it focuses on how communities of practice shape teachers' professional lives in school. Some reference is made to Bourdieusian constructs of habitus and field which are explored in more detail in chapter 3.

A History of the Curriculum and Policy for the Teaching of English

The teaching of English in primary schools in England has been controlled centrally since 1989 when the National Curriculum programme of study for the teaching of English was first imposed (DfES, 1989). More specifically the detail of the teaching of English has been controlled since 1998 when additional strategic guidance was introduced. *The National Literacy Strategy* (NLS)(DfES, 2001) and its more recent revision *The Primary National Strategy for Literacy and Mathematics* (PNS) (DfES, 2006c) were part of a root and branch change to the organisation of English teaching that was and remains one of the most ambitious and large-scale reforms of teaching undertaken by any country in recent years (Fullan, 2000).

The impetus for what might now be described as political control over the teaching of English grew from a series of reports by inspectors and others throughout the 1990s, which painted a mixed picture of success and weakness as measured by children's levels of attainment in literacy. This period started with Kingman's seminal report arguing that greater teacher subject knowledge combined with classroom autonomy was key to success (DES, 1988) but ended in a highly influential and critical report focussed on the teaching of reading in inner London schools (OfSTED, 1996b). Despite the view that this report was representative of only some schools in a very specific location, and in the face of conflicting evidence of 'more than satisfactory' teaching in other reports by the same department (OfSTED, 1996a), the perception that the teaching of reading in particular was in crisis appeared to dominate the thinking of policy makers. The agenda surrounding the choice of this report as a lever for change was perceived as political by

both critics of the NLS (Flynn & Stainthorp, 2006) and its architects (Stannard & Huxford, 2007): this perception was that a Conservative-led government wanted to make an example of Labour-led authorities where teaching was considered poor and to champion a ‘back to basics’ campaign citing a need to introduce rigour in the curriculum which, it was believed, would support better outcomes for pupils.

Another particularly significant report and its follow up (Alexander, Rose, & Woodhead, 1992, 1993), was indicative of a deep-seated concern about pedagogy for all subjects. The writers of these reports talked of the need for a ‘climate of change’ in primary classroom pedagogy. However, they also emphasised that change should be through a gradual process of appraisal and consideration of existing practices. What followed four years later was a forerunner of the NLS – The National Literacy Project (NLP) – which was allowed one year of pilot in schools struggling hardest with their literacy results, before the NLS was rolled out nationally amidst reported success; this success attributed a rise in results as measured by national tests directly to the imposed pedagogy for literacy (The Literacy Hour) and to the detail prescribed in the *National Literacy Strategy Framework for Teaching* (DfES, 1998, 2001). Thus, counsel from Kingman and HMI, that pedagogical changes should be gradual and should support teacher autonomy, was overturned in favour of political control of both the curriculum and the teaching approach for instruction in English (Flynn & Stainthorp, 2006). Arguably, this meant that not only was the curriculum for the teaching of English controlled, but there was an attempt to direct the precise use of that curriculum and even the detail of classroom discourse between teacher and pupils (Luke, 2008)

A range of research and professional commentary during the early years of the 21st century explored the impact of a national literacy strategy on both teaching and teachers. Discussion of this is valuable in terms of understanding both the detail of the sea change that took place post 1998 and the comparative unease accompanying it. The scale and impact of the change, its successes and the ambivalence with which it was accepted, are of significant relevance when analysing the working environment common to the teachers and schools in this project.

On the image of large-scale national reform, there is much written by those interested in the school improvement agenda that identifies the pitfalls associated with such ambitious modifications to existing practice. Reynolds (1998) warned of failure if schools adopted a new strategy for teaching in English if this was not part of a wider picture of school reform. His view was that piecemeal change could not support long-term success unless seen in more holistic terms. Stainthorp took issue with what she saw as the flawed experimental approach of the NLS (Stainthorp, 1999a); if, she argued, change employed the twin variables of curriculum guidance and pedagogical approach, there would be no way of knowing which was the foundation for success. There was also tension between those who perceived a lack of theoretical support for the NLS (Fisher, 2000; Wyse, 2003) and those who defended its structure because, they argued, there was an empirical basis for its design (Beard, 2000, 2003; Stannard & Huxford, 2007).

Such doubts were mirrored in a series of three reports that followed the initiative as it developed in schools up to 2003 (Earl, Fullan, Leithwood, & Watson, 2000; Earl, Levin, Fullan, Leithwood, & Watson, 2001; Earl et al., 2003). These independent monitoring teams advised that change could only be sustained if teachers had the knowledge and skills to interpret the NLS meaningfully and confidently; perhaps most significantly they questioned the rote adoption of a formula for teaching English that created in teachers an unquestioning adherence to ‘received wisdom’ that was not necessarily supported by teachers’ theoretical understanding of children’s language and literacy development. There was praise for success with the NLS in schools where leadership was strong and teacher subject knowledge good, but this was tempered repeatedly with anxiety such as that expressed by Willows: “Without understanding teachers become cogs in a machine, with neither the responsibility nor the rewards of being in control” (Willows, 2002). The nature of what teacher subject knowledge might look like, for the teaching of English to either native speakers of English or children for whom English is an additional language, is explored in detail in the next chapter.

Alongside this tension over the speed and scale of reform was criticism of the equation of success with the results of national testing. This led to a pressure on schools to perform in a particular way, and was accompanied by the publication of league tables that identified schools as successful or weak in terms of children’s performance in reading and writing. Such an agenda,

it was argued, inhibited teachers' freedom (Fisher, 2004), and it limited the time with which they were allowed to explore how the NLS might be adapted to their own understanding of good practice (Earl, et al., 2003). Some might add that in losing time for experimentation, teachers adopted the NLS approach as 'the' mode of teaching English in a way that simultaneously deskilled and automated their practice. Thus, where children failed to make progress, or where teachers failed to implement approaches effectively, criticism, chiefly via OfSTED (OfSTED, 2002, 2003, 2004b, 2005b), was aimed consistently at the profession rather than at weaknesses in the tools it had been given.

That is not to say that there were not strengths and successes in the ambitious initiative of the NLS. Standardised attainment tests and tasks (SATs) had been administered in English primary schools since 1991 and meant that there was a national data set which could potentially illustrate improvement following an initiative on a national scale. There was evidence of a rise in standards in reading and writing, albeit one where it was difficult to show causal effect (Tymms, 2009). There was also evidence that teachers found the guidance useful in supporting them with planning for English (Fisher & Lewis, 1999) and that teaching for English in general had improved in some settings, although this was not consistent (Earl, et al., 2003). However, in response to the weight of anxiety as outlined above, and also in response to thinking that the pedagogy associated with the NLS lacked the creativity required by new educational initiatives (DfES, 2003b) the original framework was revised. In 2006 what was intended as a less prescriptive document – the Primary National Strategy Framework for Literacy (PNS) – was released with a view that it would allow more flexibility for interpretation (DfES, 2006c). Its intention was to address criticism of the NLS by: including explicit reference to speaking and listening which had been left out of the NLS because of pressure on its architects to advance the teaching of reading and writing (Stannard & Huxford, 2007); (Droop & Verhoeven, 2003) raising what at the time was regarded as a necessary emphasis on the teaching of early reading using systematic phonics programmes (DfES, 2006b).

It is interesting that there is nothing approaching the range of research and commentary surrounding this later guidance, and it is difficult to discern why that might be. Perhaps researchers were happy that earlier concerns about a need for a more theoretical basis had been

addressed with, for example, the inclusion of specific reference to research in the teaching of reading (DfES, 2006b); or maybe the educational establishment in schools and universities had assimilated large-scale change as a norm and no longer sought to express concern. There was some criticism of the PNS, and other curriculum guidance, from Alexander who was suspicious of the confident tone used in its commentary: this, he argued, was dangerous in that teachers were misled into thinking that the materials with which they were guided were supported empirically and were thus ‘prescription in the guise of description’ (Alexander, 2010, p. 298). Alexander’s commentary was significant in that he was a major voice in curriculum reform at the time, but there were not echoes with the layers of commentary familiar to the earlier version of the NLS. Furthermore, in a somewhat mixed report, OfSTED demonstrated in 2009 that standards had risen steadily since 2004 and that the teaching of English was good or outstanding in 70% of lessons observed, with a particular strength seen in primary schools. Thus, the teachers observed for this project were teaching between 2007 and 2009 in what may have seemed like a period of relative calm when compared to the earliest years in the first decade of the twenty first century.

Guidance to Support the Teaching of Children with English as an Additional Language

The discussion above outlines the impact of policy changes related to the teaching of English to English-speaking children. Although such policy was intended for the teaching of all children regardless of their country of birth or of their home language, there was a parallel development in policy, reports and guidance aimed at supporting teachers of children whose first language was not English or who were from ethnic backgrounds other than White British (Table 1.1). It is important to note here that publications related to English speaking children assumed a particular use of English, Standard English, and that within the population in English schools at any one time there will also be children whose first language is English but who speak an ethnicised version of the language. Thus, guidance aimed at supporting children from ethnic minorities may conflate national, ethnic and linguistic difference in a way that may not be explicit to English teachers. This is indicated by the titles, some of which are aimed particularly at supporting language acquisition, but others of which relate to particular communities of pupils.

Table 1.1 Showing the range of policy-related publications for English primary schools supporting the teaching of English as an additional language between 2003 and 2009

Date	Publications focussed on the attainment of ethnic minority pupils and pupils with EAL	Publications focussed on the support and training of teachers of ethnic minority pupils and pupils with EAL
2003	DfES, (2003). <i>Aiming High: Raising Achievement of Ethnic Minority Pupils</i>	
2004	OfSTED, (2004). <i>Achievement of Bangladeshi Heritage Pupils</i>	DfES, (2004). <i>Aiming High: Supporting Effective Use of EMAG</i>
		DfES, (2004). <i>Aiming High: Understanding the Educational Needs of Minority Ethnic Pupils in Mainly White Schools</i>
		DfES, (2004). <i>Aiming High: Guidance on Supporting the Education of Asylum Seeking and Refugee Children</i>
2005	DfES, (2005). <i>Aiming High: Guidance on the assessment of pupils learning English as an additional language</i>	DfES, (2005). <i>Aiming High: Meeting the needs of newly arrived learners of English as an additional language</i>
	OfSTED, (2005). <i>Could they do even better? The writing of advanced bilingual learners of English at Key Stage 2: HMI survey of good practice</i>	
2006		DfES, (2006). <i>Excellence and Enjoyment: Learning and teaching for bilingual children in the primary years</i>
2007		DCSF. (2007). <i>New Arrivals Excellence Programme</i>
2008	DCSF, (2008). <i>Rationale for planning for children learning English as an additional language</i>	
2009	DCSF, (2009). <i>Ensuring the attainment of more advanced learners of English as an additional language</i>	TDA, (2009). <i>Strategy for the development of the English as an additional language (EAL) workforce in schools</i>

There is limited independent research commentary on the release of this substantial amount of guidance other than some evaluations of their efficacy which were funded or requested by government departments (NALDIC/TDA, 2009; NFER, 2007; White, Lewis, & Fletcher-Campbell, 2006). It is interesting that, while the NLS as an initiative fostered a substantial amount of support and criticism from the academy, the materials for the teaching of EAL appear

to have gone almost unnoticed by researchers who might have presented an independent response to policy development on second language teaching. However, such evaluation as there was raised some issues that echoed those from the early days of the NLP/NLS. Most significantly, there was expression of concern that evaluation of a bilingual learners in primary schools pilot programme was implemented as policy (DCSF, 2006b) before the evaluation was complete (White, et al., 2006). Whilst the authors of this report acknowledged the success of the programme in many of the schools, they were keen to point out that such success was much more closely related to good relationships between schools and their local authority support staff than it was to the printed guidance. Effective senior management teams and the readiness of schools to manage change were cited as much more important than the materials themselves (p. vi).

Thus, there is a suggestion that governments' desire to control pedagogy through policy was prevalent for the teaching of both L1 and L2, and was characterised by premature decision making which determined policy before the outcomes of considered evaluation. This was potentially the behaviour of governments of either party: hasty roll out of the NLS was managed by a very new Labour government in 1997/8 working with materials first designed under the previous Conservative administration; while similarly early implementation of the bilingual learners' programme was instigated by a Labour education ministry long in office by 2006. Either act mirrors earlier decisions by the Conservatives in 1989 to introduce a National Curriculum for English that ignored advice to leave pedagogical decision making with the teaching profession (Alexander, et al., 1993)

In OfSTED's comprehensive review of the impact of the Primary National Strategy, under whose umbrella several of the publications in Table 1.1 would have sat, there is a noticeable lack of any mention of how the strategies' various initiatives had worked in terms of the programmes for teaching EAL (OfSTED, 2010). This is interesting in the context of White et al's (2006) comment that what was required for effective teaching of EAL was greater collaboration between the teams driving the PNS and those working to support ethnic minority achievement. Furthermore, in OfSTED's report the previous year which focussed on the teaching of English (OfSTED, 2009), there are just two incidental mentions of the teaching of pupils with EAL (p. 45) as part of one case study. Significantly these two reports refer to observations in schools

visited between 2005 – 2008 (OfSTED, 2009), and 2008 – 2009 (OfSTED, 2010), and thus cover the years related to data collection for this project. As such they carry with them a suggestion of what was considered important in the teaching of English and what was not: namely, that the teaching of English was generalised to mean the teaching of English to any learner, and that the sub-division of inspection focus into the teaching of English as an additional language rather than a first language was unnecessary. This has significant implications for how teachers might perceive the place of subject knowledge for teaching EAL and this is discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

If it is assumed that there was a lack of interest in the teaching of EAL among the inspectorate, and in responses to the publications guiding the teaching of EAL from researchers, then several hypotheses are possible as explanations. Firstly, there simply was not time or motivation to read them: and presumably some confusion over their importance if policy was implemented ahead of pilot study outcomes. There was evidence in the first decade of the twenty first century of documentation and initiative overload which is identified as having ‘diminished the potential effectiveness of each individual initiative’ (OfSTED, 2010, p. 5). For example, in the documentation presented in Table 1.1, some relates to the PNS which was a curriculum initiative for Mathematics and English teaching, some to Excellence and Enjoyment (DfES, 2003b) which was a more generic initiative aimed at enhancing creativity in teaching and some to the Aiming High agenda which was a government programme of investment in promoting opportunity for potentially marginalised groups of children and young adults. Although it is not difficult to see where initiatives might overlap and complement each other, it is also not difficult to see how this might have become overwhelming and thus both dilute and inhibit rather than support classroom practice for busy professionals (OfSTED, 2010, pp. 14-16).

Secondly, perhaps something else was considered more important. The years around 2006 were dominated very heavily by debate around the teaching of early reading and the publication of the influential Rose Report (DfES, 2006b): at the time this appeared to eclipse discussion of other subjects altogether and phonics teaching remains at the heart of the current Government’s focus for English curriculum organisation (DfE, 2011c). Finally, there may be a value that is attributed to the teaching of English by an English speaking profession that somehow negates the need to

consider how first language development and second language acquisition are different (Luke, 2008, p. 84). This is of particular significance in this project and is something that will be explored in both the next chapter related to teachers' subject knowledge and in the discussion of linguistic capital in the classroom in chapter 3.

Whatever the reasons for an apparent lack of published interest in the guidance related to EAL and ethnic minority attainment, review of the commentary in them indicates a number of themes that were related to their purpose. The materials were designed to provide teachers with guidance for the teaching of their children with EAL in recognition of the increase in numbers and groups of children who spoke home languages other than English, sometimes in areas with no history of EAL provision (DCSF, 2007; DfES, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c, 2005b, 2006a) ; to support a focus specifically on raising attainment in ethnic minority pupils and pupils with EAL (DCSF, 2008c, 2009; DfES, 2003a, 2005a; OfSTED, 2004a, 2005a); and to present policy for training specialists in the teaching of EAL (TDA, 2009). Thus, although public attention to them may have appeared limited, there was an attempt by policy makers to address issues relating to both cultural and linguistic need in schools and to up-skilling the profession to manage the support of second language acquisition in particular. Whether these were influencing practice on the ground is explored in later chapters relating to analysis of interview data with primary school teachers and local authority staff.

Teacher Identity and an Externally Controlled Curriculum

The discussion thus far in this chapter indicates that the teaching of English in England remains highly controlled at government level. The measurement of success through testing also put pressure on local authorities to perform in certain ways which in turn pressurised schools into valuing certain types of curriculum activity over others (Earl, et al., 2003): decisions and imperatives from the wider field of education as represented by Government impacted on sub-divisions of the field at local authority and school level. Although the combination of what was described as 'high pressure and high support' in the implementation of the NLS was praised at the time (Earl, et al., 2003, p. 7), this was tempered by concern that long-term accountability may lead to 'a culture of dependence and a reduction in professional autonomy' (p. 8).

Mirroring this sentiment from the report by Earl et al, which had been commissioned by the department for education at the time, was a view from a group of academics who had independently observed the impact of national curriculum change from the mid-1990s onwards and had come to similar conclusions. They perceived that the long term centralised control of the curriculum had resulted in a workforce which lacked confidence in its own judgements (Moore, et al., 2002). For example, teachers' subject knowledge was perceived as key to underpinning effective teaching for literacy by OfSTED, but this subject knowledge was at times itself the focus of political control (DfES, 2006b). Thus there was a view that 'guidance' makes for high quality teaching rather than less tangible aspects of teachers' own identity, creativity and experience. It may also be the case that teachers equated subject knowledge with the National Strategies and their guidance, rather than seeing subject knowledge as a mix of theoretical and pedagogical understanding that centres on how children develop as literate beings (see chapter 2 for a discussion of the basis of teacher subject knowledge in the context of this research).

The construct of teacher habitus is discussed in detail, specifically in relation to Bourdieu, in chapter 3, but it is relevant to introduce it at this point. To give a brief definition of teacher habitus, it is a concept that encapsulates the conscious and unconscious ways in which teachers might make choices in their classroom practice. Furthermore habitus governs how teachers might respond to change, in that responses to the present are built on experiences in the past. The impact of several decades of curriculum control is relevant not just to the curriculum for English but to all aspects of teaching – and by default teacher habitus - in schools in England. It has impacted on the way teachers see themselves, how they define their identities, and their feelings about what they are 'allowed' to do in the classroom. Coldron and Smith (1999) talk of teacher identity as 'partly given and partly received'; by this they imply that it is shaped by a mix of external and internal pressures (Moore, 2004). Teachers may define and redefine their identities throughout their careers, but research suggests that some do this with more ease than others when it comes to embracing curriculum reform (Coldron & Smith, 1999; Day, Stobart, Sammons, & Kington, 2006).

The work of Moore and others (Moore, 2004; Moore, et al., 2002) describes teachers in terms of three potential identities; the competent craftsperson, the reflective practitioner and the

charismatic subject. Reflecting on the work of several large-scale projects tracking teacher response to change, they conclude that education in England is largely dominated by discourse relating to the competent craftsman, which is closely identified with the standards for Qualified Teacher Status (TDA, 2007) and the reflective practitioner (a perhaps largely undefined concept much favoured by teacher trainers and educators). The charismatic subject, the stuff of nostalgia-fuelled films and novels, has, they argue, little place in current policy-related discourse or teacher dialogue; this appears focussed on a mixture of the tick-box, measurable ideals set out by government and the thoughtful pedagogue supposedly nurtured by initial teacher educators. The fact that teacher educators are as constrained by standards and measurable outcomes as teachers themselves, and as subject to inspection and curriculum change in the UK at least, perhaps suggests that the reflective practitioner is less an actual and more a perceived ideal among trainers.

If teachers have become the products of externally valued schemata such as curriculum 'guidance' and professional competencies, then it is possibly difficult for them to express who they are and what they believe in. Indeed many may have developed a pragmatic stance as a coping strategy to deal with ever changing requirements (Moore, et al., 2002, p. 564). The net effect of this is that teachers who have come in to the profession in more recent years may not understand what it is to have a set of beliefs about teaching at all, let alone the teaching of English. Rather their pedagogical identities may be those of followers of guidance rather than creators of exciting learning environments driven by personal charisma and philosophy. It is also possible that experienced teachers have now lived with centralised control for so much of their careers, that they have assimilated this as part of their pedagogical habitus and do not necessarily question whether they have agency to effect change on an individual level in their interpretation of the curriculum. Indeed Moore et al noted a finely tuned difference in the pragmatic persona: one which varies from the principled pragmatist, often an inexperienced teacher, who judges that they do have sense of choice in what they do but that these may have been tailored by national expectations, and the contingent pragmatist - often a more experienced teacher - who sees pragmatism as an escape from a need to self-define (p. 563). Although there is some sense of optimism that the pragmatic approach to teaching is one that might be reversible (Moore, et al., 2002) there is also a call to recognise the need to become reawakened to teaching as artistry

(Coldron & Smith, 1999; Eisner, 2003) and for governments to acknowledge the negative impact of excessive curriculum reform on confident teacher identity which is core to teacher effectiveness (Day, et al., 2006)

At the point of data collection in this research, externally imposed curricula were undergoing a period of considerable change beyond that described in earlier sections in relation to the teaching of English; this change was associated most notably with reports such as The Cambridge Primary Review (Alexander, 2010) and The Independent Review of the Primary Curriculum (Rose, 2009). Adding further complexity, at the point of writing, a change in government had introduced further uncertainty for teachers as to how the curriculum for English might develop beyond 2011. Discussion up until the May 2010 election had focussed on a perceived opposition between on the one hand the theoretically based ‘Alexander Review’ and on the other a politically pragmatic attempt at curriculum reform (Rose, 2009). At this election a coalition government of Conservatives and Liberal Democrats were elected who chose to reject both of these potential new curricula on the grounds that they were associated with the Labour administration who had been in power since 1997. Thus, this analysis itself sits poised in 2012 awaiting the final shape of a new curriculum that will reflect a different set of political ideologies. The fact that teachers at the time of data collection also felt they had to wait for some sort of outcome to this debate is testament to the position teachers expect to be in.

Perhaps in response to the view of the English teacher as a pragmatic conformist, there was a sense of frustration, expressed ironically by the OfSTED inspectorate, with teachers’ unquestioning continuing adoption of policy and guidance rather than choosing to explore effective pedagogy that might be underpinned by theory (OfSTED, 2009). This came after a decade of OfSTED reports that were critical of the profession in failing to understand what is required of good English teaching in terms of subject knowledge; but, in this more recent report there was a shift in blame emphasis. In their 2009 report on the teaching of English OfSTED praised much good and excellent teaching of English but warned of too much teaching that was only satisfactory. While they acknowledged the role of the teacher in this ‘adequate but not excellent’ approach, they did also suggest a need for consistent support from ‘other agencies’ in identifying good practice for English. Problematic here is that good practice for English is

described in some of the documentation relating to the teaching of English, but, as already mentioned, teachers are hampered by the lack of coherence and the sheer number of possible materials that they could access to support them in developing as practitioners (OfSTED, 2010). Furthermore, it is recognised by those commenting on school improvement that better teachers are chiefly those who work in school communities with shared understanding of what effective practice is and who benefit from high quality leadership in their senior management (Earl, et al., 2003; OfSTED, 2011; White, et al., 2006). Thus, teachers' identities as teachers of English are closely tied not just to the curriculum but to the interpretation of the curriculum that is live in their schools.

Communities of Practice and Teacher Identity in English Primary Schools

Teachers' choice, conscious or unconscious, of a pragmatic professional persona, makes sense if we consider that the world of education is a constantly evolving one, and one where the pressure to succeed is core to self-worth. However, this persona is one that has been described above in relation to the wider field of education which has sought to control teachers' pedagogical identities over time. It would be remiss not to also explore the field, linguistic or otherwise, in which teachers operate as practitioners in schools which are their places of work. Rogoff (2008) and Wenger (1998, 2008) suggest that within a workplace identities change in response to environmental shifts. Indeed, they consider that identity is formed through the range of experiences and relationships encountered in the workplace. Each, differently, would suggest that we are products of a range of relationships through which we are inducted and made competent in a set of behaviours which reflect commonly held values and unspoken assumptions about what it is to work in, for example, one specific school. Thus, teachers' identities are products not just of national external pressures which hold implicit their own core beliefs, but also of the individual world of the staffroom and classroom where identity and practice might almost be one and the same thing. In fact, this view of practice being an inherent part of existence is central to the thinking of Bourdieu (1990a) which forms the philosophical framework for analysis in this research.

Where Rogoff and Wenger depart to some extent from a Bourdieusian view is in their belief that communities of practice are relatively dynamic structures through which individuals and groups

share and evolve in response to stimuli for change. The discussion of their thinking sits within this chapter, rather than alongside the exploration of Bourdieu's logic of practice in chapter 3, because there is a match with their writing on how communities of practice shape a work place in a practical sense which is valuable in the context of a chapter which maps the field for the teachers in this project. There is not space within this discussion to explore the fine detail of Wenger's theory, but the construct of community of practice is used consistently in education research because of the view that it is a useful model for analysing work in schools (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1999).

Wenger's social theory of learning (Wenger, 1998) assumes that we are social beings and that learning not only involves but is fundamentally identified with social participation. He acknowledges that participants may vary their engagement with the community, and that quality of learning varies according to the relationships within the community and the circumstances in which the learning takes place: for example, teachers developing a new aspect of subject knowledge may do this in collaboration with an experienced colleague and the success or otherwise of this relationship will depend on the identity of either participant and their shared experience within the school setting. Identity, Wenger argues, is what drives education and it is education that shapes identity (p. 263). He appears to present the capacity for school communities to shape their own future identities through a 'mutual development process' as relatively unproblematic, and his discussion focuses largely on children as learners rather than on teachers as learners within the same learning community, and this limits application of his theory within this study. However, his thinking that 'learning is the engine of practice and that practice is the history of learning' (p. 96) is useful in the context of research looking at the impact of change on a learning community that has a shared history of the efforts of government to control its identity in terms of both curriculum and pedagogy.

Cox (2005) takes issue with Wenger's apparent positivism in presenting his argument for workplaces as dynamic environments that can shape their own futures, suggesting that the terms 'community' and 'practice' are subject to such varying interpretation that the construct has limited value. Cox's anxiety is that the name itself suggests that all participants in the community are aware of their relationship to it and that shared understanding is often at a much more basic

and superficial level than Wenger suggests (p. 536). Moreover, he feels, the term implies an harmonious community when the reality is likely to involve disharmony and conflict; enforced harmony is likely to provide a pressure to conform which is not necessarily a healthy aspiration for a working community and may actively militate against learning. Furthermore he suggests that the theory does not take account of the pressures of a modern workplace which are 'tightly managed' and 'heavily individualised' (p. 527).

Nevertheless, it is arguably the case that schools are tacitly assumed to be communities of practice in that staff are expected to work collaboratively and that there is a shared goal of nurturing children socially and academically in what is at least a learning community (Wubbles, 2007). Thus, a use of Wenger's construct as a way of viewing schools and education is not unreasonable and perhaps explains its apparent popularity as a system for analysis of the educational field. To answer Cox's concerns, it is useful to consider, alongside Wenger, Rogoff's views of relationships within communities because these address the fixed view of community that Cox fears Wenger's theory may support. Rogoff suggests that humans move within cultural communities and that variations among participants in a community are to be expected (Rogoff, 2003). This implies that individual culture within the workplace should be viewed as fluid and changing, and that agents change through their participation in the socio-cultural activities of their communities which also change (p. 37); thus, communities of practice for Rogoff are rather more mutually constituting than Wenger's model might suggest

Rogoff proposes that the classroom contains different planes of activity that relate to the personal, inter-personal and community-related lives of teachers and pupils (Rogoff, 2008). Successful inclusion of teachers within the school will rest on recognition of how new entrants require a period of apprenticeship so that they can become mature participants in the community. This apprenticeship is serviced by the guided participation of the existing community, and individuals may change through their participatory appropriation as participants in either part of this activity (p. 67). To explore this metaphor practically: a newly qualified teacher may benefit from the mentoring of an experienced colleague in interpreting the curriculum for English. This colleague may in turn come to new understandings of how children are best taught literacy as a result of her reflection on her own practice and her observation of her 'apprentice'.

Rogoff's metaphor is useful for analysing how the inter-relationship of professionals in school might support or hinder the development of teachers' pedagogic identities, but it does have limitations in that it appears to assume, in common with Wenger, that the community will always harbour the expertise necessary to nurture the apprentice, or the willingness to develop expertise where there is none. There is limited acknowledgement of what happens when the workplace itself experiences change and the experienced teacher is as much the apprentice as the inexperienced: at this point, it is possible that individual differences between teachers are more likely to broker change and adaptation than experience. Where values have not been shared, their definition is dependent on the response of any one professional to a new initiative or experience and his or her capacity to adapt. Thus, for teachers facing a shift in their professional field – whether this is related to curriculum initiatives or a change in pupil demographic – the description of the school as a learning community better fits the process of modification that goes on when schools face the need to change. The success or otherwise of this learning community to adapt when required, and the inclination of individuals to participate or not in that adaptation, is of particular interest when analysing the responses of teachers facing change.

Summary:

This chapter mapped the field of literacy teaching for teachers in English primary schools. This mapping was enhanced with an analysis of how teacher identity has been affected by the extent to which the field of literacy teaching is centrally controlled. There was a question over why the documentation supporting the teaching of second language learners has been given less attention than that for native English speakers, and this is a theme to which later chapters will return. The field was also explored in terms of how teachers might work in mutually supportive networks that underpin their capacity to learn from each other and to make progress as a learning community when faced with change. Issues raised in this final section will be further explored in chapter 3.

Chapter 2: Teachers' Potential Subject Knowledge for the Teaching of English – Knowing, Understanding, Believing and Practising

This chapter explores the potential knowledge base which might inform teachers' practice for the teaching of English. Some might consider that this a relatively straightforward proposition involving a review of literature relating to language and literacy development, but the nature of knowledge for teachers makes it rather more complex. Thus, the chapter begins with some discussion of an epistemology of practice for teachers.

The Nature of Teachers' Knowledge

There are strands of research relating firstly to teachers' knowledge and secondly to teachers' beliefs about the teaching of English which both have relevance to the research in this project. In terms of the nature of teachers' knowledge Fenstermacher's review of the nature of knowledge in research on teaching has much to add to discussion (Fenstermacher, 1994). Fenstermacher makes a distinction between the nature of knowledge that teachers generate as a result of their experience and the knowledge of teaching that is generated by those researching teaching (p. 3). This distinction is well exemplified by the discussion in chapter 1 that focussed on academics' anxiety that the national strategies for the teaching of English were not founded on empirical evidence relating to how children develop literacy. On the one hand, teachers might see their practice as resting on experience and understanding and this is what they 'know', but on the other, academics might wish to see their understanding explicitly informed by research so that they might assume that there is more to 'know' than teachers might understand. For Fenstermacher this presents researchers with something of a dilemma because it highlights the fact that teachers' practical knowledge may be valued and perceived as somehow less important or significant than that which is purely theoretical (p. 10).

In defining knowledge Fenstermacher talks of teachers' formal and practical knowledge: that is, their understanding of how children learn, and their understanding of how children learn from their experience of teaching them. The two are not necessarily separate, but it is the case that teachers are more likely to reflect on what they do practically than on what they know theoretically (1994, p. 5). In exploring the work on teacher knowledge Fenstermacher cites Elbaz

among others, and draws on her case study of one teacher which attempted to separate study of teacher knowledge from study of teacher effectiveness.

Despite its age, Elbaz' reflections on her findings (Elbaz, 1981) reads with a freshness that bears much relevance to the discussion of the shaping of curriculum in chapter 1 and to the conceptualising of subject knowledge in this chapter. Foregrounding some of the thinking in Moore's work which was reviewed in chapter 1 (Moore, et al., 2002), and writing in the context of education in Canada, she is critical of the attempts by curriculum developers to refuse to perceive the work of teachers as knowledge of itself; rather, teachers are the recipients of blame when curriculum materials are introduced but do not work (p. 44). This unsatisfactory relationship rests, she says, on erroneous interpretations of teachers' knowledge base, and an attempt by researchers to provide a narrow definition of teachers' knowledge in order that relatively simply explanations of 'effectiveness' might be generated.

In looking to establish a more complex view of teachers' knowledge that better captures the subtleties of teachers' working practice Elbaz defines a number of different kinds of knowledge that provide an illustration of Fenstermacher's teacher knowledge definitions. Observing that teachers' knowledge may be tacit she defines it as:

"knowledge of subject matter; of classroom organisation and instructional techniques; of the structuring of learning experiences and curriculum content; of students' needs, abilities, and interests; of the social framework of the school and its surrounding community; and of their own strengths and shortcomings as teachers."(p. 47)

In drawing on just one case study Elbaz' development of a theory of practice from one set of narrative interviews is perhaps difficult to defend, but her findings resonate with others wishing to define teachers' practice in ways that value their professional responses as resting on a practical knowledge base that should not be considered inferior to the empirical (Clandinin, 1985; Fenstermacher, 1994; Pajares, 1992).

Accepting this view of teachers' knowledge as problematic, there have been attempts to define more specifically teachers' understanding of and beliefs about the teaching of English (Fisher, 2006; Poulson, Avramidis, Fox, Medwell, & Wray, 2001; Westwood, Knight, & Redden, 1994). In each of these studies research instruments designed to measure beliefs were used alongside

observations and interviews in an effort to map how teachers' beliefs and knowledge influenced their pedagogical choices. Poulson et al (2001) specifically explored the theoretical subject knowledge for the teaching of reading and writing in effective teachers of literacy and found a relationship between theoretical understanding of teaching for reading and writing and the classroom practice for recognised effective teachers. Exploring teachers' beliefs in relation to policy shift, Fisher (2006) found through observations of two teachers over three years during the introduction of the NLS, that the impact of reform fostered organisational change in the classroom but not pedagogical change in teaching. In both studies, there was discussion of the range of interpretation that teachers bring to their teaching of English. The fact that "teaching involves a complex interplay between what a teacher does and what she thinks" (Fisher, 2006) makes the potential for different interpretation of any set of guidance considerable. It also further underscores the danger of defining teacher knowledge as having a single identity.

The messy constructs of teachers' beliefs, knowledge and understanding warrant much greater discussion than has been presented here, but further consideration would belong in a project focussing more closely on beliefs about teaching. However, the discussion has deliberately preceded the exploration of the theoretical basis of teachers' subject knowledge for the teaching of English in order that the reader is aware of the complexity in analysing such a construct in later data analysis. To summarise, in defining the practical and theoretical knowledge base that teachers might hold, it is difficult to distinguish where knowledge ends and belief begins (Pajares, 1992) and it is likely that teachers' belief and understanding will vary between individuals in a way that will affect interpretation of the curriculum materials they use in class (Fisher, 2006; Poulson, et al., 2001). Furthermore, there is a difference between what academics might define as subject knowledge and what teachers might present as their understanding, and this tension needs explicit recognition if research is to take account of teachers' practical manifestation of their knowledge to inform future thinking about classroom practice (Elbaz, 1981; Fenstermacher, 1994). With open acknowledgement of the difficulties in defining teachers' subject knowledge, the remaining sections of this chapter set out potential theoretical subject knowledge partnered with discussion of how effective teachers of English might interpret an empirical basis in practice.

First Language Development

There seems to be an agreement amongst researchers that second language acquisition is not the same as first language development (Kuhl, 2000; Snow & Hoefnagel-Hohle, 1978); not least because second language learners are not a *blank slate* when acquiring a new language (August & Shanahan, 2006); children learning a second language (L2) bring with them their knowledge of their first language (L1) and of a range of communicative behaviours other than speech. This project focuses on teachers' understanding second language acquisition in relation to their understanding of their pedagogy supporting first language and literacy development, and as such an exploration of each is valuable.

In the literature surrounding language development, discussion of language as a medium for communication is frequently divided into subsets such as sound discrimination, speech, vocabulary, syntax or grammar, pragmatics and discourse. Speech perception involves the ability to discriminate different sounds and the ability to treat sounds that are acoustically different as equivalent (phoneme constancy) (Bishop, 1997p.51). Vocabulary learning involves identifying recurring sounds and patterns in the speech input, identifying meaning and concepts, and mapping the first on to the latter (p.57). As children develop, given normal progression, they learn both how their language is structured and the variety of registers with which they might use language (Ferguson, 1978). Thus, the acquisition of a first language (L1) is a process of learning what the tools are for language and how to use them.

Theories of first language acquisition vary between a behaviourist view (Skinner, 1957) an innatist view (Chomsky, 1959), a social constructivist view (Bruner, 1986) and a connectionist view (Bates & Elman, 1993; Karmiloff-Smith, 1979). Skinner (1957, 1974) separated language acquisition and verbal behaviour; verbal behaviour would be something that human beings develop through operant conditioning in the same way that they develop physical behavioural responses to external stimuli. This view was challenged most notably by Chomsky (1959) who argued that language acquisition is innate and that it is managed through a language acquisition device (LAD) which acts as a 'fixed nucleus' through which language is processed. Alongside his theory of a LAD is that of Universal Grammar (UG); a theory that languages possess a

degree of shared, deep structure which is common to all of them and accounts for similarity in the progress of language acquisition for children across continents and cultures.

Bruner's view, one that grew from Vygotsky's discussion of the social construction of language, is that the crucial nature of transactions cannot be overlooked in any study of first language acquisition (Bruner, 1986,p.57). He sees social transaction as fundamental to the development of knowledge about language, and that the use of language begins – as it did for Piaget – with the pointing gestures (referents) of the baby. However, unlike Piaget, Bruner would not describe language as behaviour, more that those early infant pre-linguistic behaviours suggest some sort of adaptation for linguistic acquisition in humans (p.63). Furthermore he, with Vygotsky, considered that language and thought are inextricably linked and that both are developed through social interaction. The significance of this view, particularly in relation to the adult's role in developing language, is revisited later in this chapter.

Connectionists might be described as steering a middle ground between the innatists, the behaviourists and the social constructivists (Lana, 2002).The connectionist view, as articulated by Bates and Elman (1993) is that social-constructivism, meaning chiefly the work of Vygotsky and Bruner, has swung the pendulum too far away from child-initiated change because it suggests the development of cognition is entirely related to the child's internalisation of social experiences (p.624). However, there are some universals apparent in the progress of L1 acquisition in normally developing infants and children. These might be described as a journey starting with gesture and sounds in the pre-linguistic infant, to use of single significant words by the age of 18 months; the use of single word utterances develops into two and three word phrases and so on into full sentences and to more complex sentences that show an understanding of grammatical structure by the time a child is four or five (Bishop, 1997; Peccei, 1999; Pinker, 1994)

Studies of the shifting identity of words imply that something happens that allows children to disambiguate language and meaning. Bruner (1986) puts forward the view that "The young child seems not only to negotiate sense in his exchanges with others but to carry the problems raised by such ambiguities back into the privacy of his own monologues." (p. 64) . Wells-Lindfors

(1987) considers that this ability to understand ambiguity and to learn how language works syntactically is evidence of children's inherent understanding of language and its structure. She discusses the inextricable nature of language and meaning and that native speaker abilities include knowing both meaning levels and levels of expression (p. 16) and the capacity to recognise grammatical structures which comes from what we know intuitively about basic meaning and expression in language (p. 17). Her thinking assumes that in using our first language we develop an inherent feel for meaning and expression that comes from learning its use in the context of home and school. Such contexts, and the permission to take 5 – 7 years developing full language competence, are perhaps unlikely to be in place for children developing a second language.

In first language acquisition, syntactic knowledge – understanding of relational meaning – is governed by the ways in which we know, perhaps unconsciously, how our home language operates (Wells-Lindfors, 1987, p.37). Semantic knowledge, our understanding of meaning, is also controlled by cultural assumptions of how our communities view reality (p.37). Detailed consideration of issues relating to accent and dialect are not relevant in the context of this research, but there is some discussion of teachers' response to children's culturally imbued use of their first language in later sections of this chapter and in chapter 3. The understanding of how to use language in context, and of how to infer meaning during conversation, is particularly important when operating in a new language. This ability to use language according to specific registers, and to vary those according to conversational context, is referred to as pragmatic use of language. Children's mastery of this will affect their relationships with their teachers in the classroom.

Pragmatic use of first language is the last skill to develop when children are acquiring their mother tongue. It is an important part of communicative competence which goes beyond simple linguistic competence and it relates to the use of linguistic forms for communicative purposes and to the regulation of conversational exchange (Ninio & Snow, 1999, p348). Metapragmatic understanding allows the speaker to use language appropriately according to context, audience and cultural norms. Researchers in the field of pragmatics acknowledge that empirical studies into pragmatic development differ according to the view of language development taken by the

researcher (Foster, 1991). They also tend towards a rejection of formal linguistic theories such as Chomsky's because they do not generally believe in the separation of language learning from language use.

Croft (1995) for example opposes ideas of formal structures and sees universals in language use that render unhelpful the separation of language into syntactics, semantics and pragmatics. He argues that grammar is not self-contained because speech acts are dependent for their meaning on the conversational interaction of which they are a part. Thus, he supports a Bourdieusian view of language development that rejects separation of language into *la langue et la parole* (Saussure, 1974). Bourdieu argued that Saussure's assumption that language could be defined separately in terms of its structure and its use was flawed because language meaning and language use are inseparable (1991, p.44). Similarly the Gricean view is that conversation is governed by implicature – a key concept in pragmatics; this of itself is dependent on an assumed 'co-operative principle' which assumes the listener's understanding of the speaker's intention (Grice, 1991). The implications of this co-operative principle for relations between second language learners and their teachers is revisited in the later section on second language acquisition.

This review of literature relating to first language development is necessarily brief in a thesis which has as its focus the teaching of children who need to acquire language and literacy in English as an additional language. However, it has been included in acknowledgment of the fact that, in order to understand second language acquisition, it is likely that teachers should understand something of first language development. The discussion demonstrates that there would be wide range of theories for teachers to understand which relate to first language development and that these are to some extent at odds with each other. Furthermore, the way which theorists think of language conceptually differs between those who compartmentalise language structure and language use, and those who see them as inseparable. The ways in which language learning and language learning are fused in the thinking of Bourdieu is further explored in chapter 3

Language Learning and Literacy Development for L1 Learners

The title of this section, in relation to that preceding it, could imply that language and literacy development are somehow separate, but this would be an erroneous interpretation. Literacy development includes the learning of language for literacy because it is important to draw a distinction between language development and language learning whether the language be an L1 or an L2 (Cummins, 1981; Snow, 1972). The body of research related to literacy development is both wide ranging and very substantial and it is not possible to review it with anything other than a relatively superficial treatment in the confines of this chapter. So, for the purposes of this research, this literature review briefly explores how children develop language for learning and the skills of literacy specifically in the classroom.

For primary school teachers in England the teaching of English is sub-divided into the teaching of speaking and listening, reading and writing (DfES, 2006c; QCA/DfES, 1999). The teaching of speaking and listening in the primary years might be described, as an ideal perhaps, as chiefly concerned with developing children's metalinguistic awareness and their communicative competence; learning objectives in both the National Curriculum and the Primary National Strategy for Literacy could be labelled as focussing on developing children's manipulation of spoken language according to purpose, genre and audience in what is a largely socio-cultural framework assuming a Vygotskian view of language development. The relationship of the documentation to research is not explicitly articulated, but there is some consensus that more recent views of children's language and literacy development assume the key role of social interaction (Myhill & Fisher, 2005).

Research focussed on how teachers interpret their role as collaborators in meaningful discourse with children raises a number of issues: there is anxiety that teachers tend to steer children's language development towards a subset of language more closely associated with writing (Wells Lindfors, 1987, p. 84); that teachers think they are engaging children in discussion when in fact they dominate classroom interaction and present few opportunities for the development of thinking (Dombey, 2003; Hardman, Smith, & Wall, 2003); that teachers make assumptions linking particular groups of children with a deficit model of spoken language based on their

accent, dialect, class or ethnicity (Gregory, Williams, Baker, & Street, 2004; Tizzard & Hughes, 2002); and that the pressure to perform according to ways associated with standardised assessment has inhibited teachers' capacity to support children's language learning through exploratory talk, and indeed other areas of their literacy development (Fisher, 2004; Wells Lindfors, 1987).

The impact of a national strategy for teaching English and its attendant expectations for particular assessed outcomes was aired in chapter 1, so the discussion here engages with perceptions of effective classroom practice for the teaching of speaking and listening. Building on the work of Bruner and Vygotsky, Mercer has written extensively about the ways in which teachers might successfully encourage classroom-based talk to support the development of thinking (Mercer, 1995, 2000, 2007; Mercer, Wegerif, & Dawes, 1999) through activities explicitly designed to encourage children's powers of reason. Similarly, Alexander (2004) has worked on projects to develop teachers' use of dialogic teaching in an attempt to wean practitioners away from "the question-answer-tell routines" associated with the early days of 'interactive teaching' as prescribed by the NLS and which was the subject of criticism by researchers as outlined above.

Both Mercer and Alexander record some success with developing a style of teaching that engaged children with argument by asking them *why* rather than *what* and by requiring them to defend their interpretations of texts and events. This high quality classroom interaction might be described as scaffolded dialogue (p. 10) and includes the use of cumulative questioning and exploratory talk in teacher-pupil and pupil-pupil discourse. Mercer notes that, although overall there was evidence of children's improved powers of reasoning, there were varying levels of competence in the teachers they worked with and this was in some part related to teachers' differing enthusiasm for developing new approaches in their teaching (Mercer, et al., 1999). This may bear some relationship to the fact that the teaching of English in England is so closely aligned with literacy that teachers feel anxious about allowing too much talk in the classroom. Talk may be associated with off-task behaviour, is much harder to assess, and is seen as a prelude to literacy activities. So it is possible that teachers prefer the safety of reading and writing which is seen as 'real work' and from which measureable output is more tangible

(Alexander, 2004). This view of talk is out of step with other European nations who regard oracy as having no less importance than literacy and who have a stronger tradition of oral pedagogy and oral work in lessons (Alexander, 2000; Hall & Ozerk, 2008)

Whether talk is seen as a forerunner or an intrinsic part of literacy activities, there is research supporting its key role in the development of both reading and writing in the classroom. In reading there is mostly an agreement among researchers that the two core processes of word recognition and comprehension are central to successful reading (Hoover & Gough, 1990) and each of these demands that children articulate out loud whether it be learning phonemes for word recognition, segmenting phonemes to decode words, or in discussion to support comprehension. There is considerable debate surrounding the teaching of phonics for word recognition which is not relevant to the research in this project but which was an active part of teachers' deliberation and of policy design at the time of data collection (DfES, 2006b). In summary, this argument centres on the evidence related to the use of synthetic phonics in reading instruction with on the one hand those who advocate a synthetic phonics only approach (Johnston & Watson, 2005) and on the other those who suggest that while systematic phonics teaching is empirically proven to foster children's decoding skills (Ehri et al., 2001) the evidence to suggest that this is only attainable through a synthetic approach is open to question (Wyse & Goswami, 2008). Where there is agreement is that children need decoding skills in order that they can read and these skills are taught by developing their phonemic awareness, which is a sensitivity to sounds in words (Blachman, Ball, Black, & Tangel, 1994), and their understanding of the alphabetic principle, which is how sounds map on to letters (Bradley & Bryant, 1983).

The process of word recognition is not of itself enough to create a reader, and thus teachers also need to give children access to activities that promote reading for meaning (Stuart, 1999). In the early days of the NLS two particular strategies for the teaching of reading were introduced; namely shared reading which involves teachers reading with the whole class, and guided reading which requires that teachers plan explicitly for groups of readers rather than for one to one reading which had previously been the key method for reading instruction (Beard, 2000). There is a body of research, relating in particular to guided reading, which is not reviewed here, but it is appropriate to note that interpretation of the teaching of reading through guided groups was

mixed and that teachers' understanding of how to use interactive teaching as a tool in either shared or guided reading was variable and often reduced to the question – answer – tell response criticised by Alexander (Dombey, 2003; Hardman, et al., 2003). In the case of teaching reading comprehension, it may be that teachers became distracted by techniques for decoding rather than the objectives of deepening children's capacity to engage with, enjoy and respond to text. These skills, and the motivation to read, are crucial if children are to develop skills of inference and deduction (Cain & Oakhill, 1999) which are in turn related to their powers of reasoning and argument (Mercer, 2000).

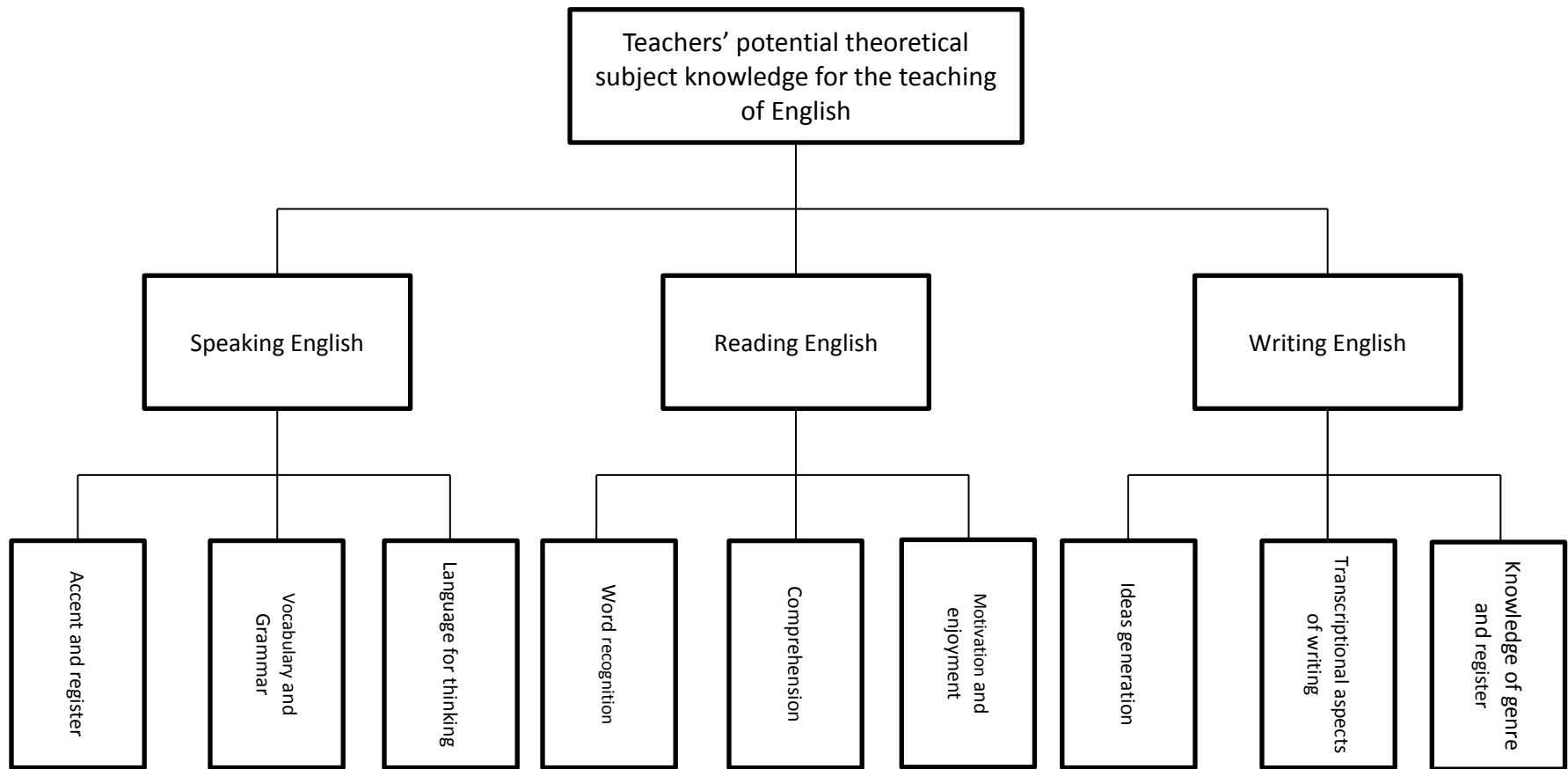
A point at which talk, reading and writing are most prominently interdependent in children's literacy development is perhaps in the skills related to children's text comprehension and subsequent text production. Talk is necessary if children are to express their understanding of a text, and successful comprehension of text is founded on a mixture of exploratory talk and children's prior knowledge of the text type, subject and genre (Yuill & Oakhill, 2010). The capacity to generate text in written form requires, quite apart from motivation, handwriting and spelling skills, that children understand enough about what they want to write about, understand the genre and audience for their composition and can select appropriate vocabulary to express themselves in writing (Berninger & Swanson, 1994).

Given that vocabulary development needs to be oral in the first instance, in order that a word can be read with meaning and subsequently used appropriately in writing, it is quickly apparent that without talk as a precursor for text production children will find it difficult to write well (Myhill & Fisher, 2005; Stainthorp, 1999b). This intense point of interdependence is captured in Derewianka's action research with a teacher leading her children through a project on rocks in which ideas of promoting a language for learning crossed the boundaries of talk, reading and writing and subjects (Derewianka, 1990). What was important in the teaching observed in this project was that children were taken through a process of familiarisation with the relevant knowledge base and vocabulary in hands-on exploration and reading about rocks which gave them an ownership of the field of study leading to competent and well-informed writing. Arguably it was difficult to tell where talk-related learning ended and the writing process began,

and this is perhaps the essence of good literacy teaching; that it promotes learning on a foundation of talk which imbues all aspects of literacy development across the curriculum.

This necessarily brief review of the potential subject knowledge base for the teaching of speaking and listening, reading and writing reveals that reading and writing are complex activities demanding much of children and teachers. The teachers interviewed for this research were working from the PNS for Literacy (DfES, 2006c) which drew on the Simple View of Reading (Hoover & Gough, 1990) and which had a structure balancing objectives for speaking and listening, reading and writing that potentially mirrored the research findings reviewed above. Furthermore, at the time of data collection teachers were working towards a curriculum review that looked as if it might encourage a thematic approach to teaching through which making links across different skills in literacy would have been supported explicitly (Rose, 2009). Moreover, the web-based units of work designed to support use of the framework for literacy teaching themselves emphasised the place of talk in both reading and writing development (PNS, 2006). Thus there was potential during the years 2006 – 2009 for teachers to develop subject knowledge for the teaching of English that combined a comparatively rich mix of theoretical and practical understanding and one that might have addressed concerns raised in the years prior to these dates that teachers worked with tools but not with understanding. The possible range of teachers' subject knowledge for the teaching of English to L1 learners is summarised at Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1 Showing the potential range of subject knowledge related to the teaching of English for primary school teachers



The Effective Teacher of Literacy to L1 learners

The features of practitioners who teach English well have been explored in a number of studies from the UK (Fisher, 2004, 2006; Flynn, 2007b; Flynn & Stainthorp, 2006; Hall & Harding, 2003; Poulson, et al., 2001; Topping & Ferguson, 2005; Wray, Medwell, Poulson, & Fox, 2002). In particular, such practice has been the subject of research since the implementation of a national strategy for teaching English and the studies noted here were also those which at times presented some critique of the NLS as discussed in chapter 1. While researchers were often disapproving of the pedagogy fostered by the NLS, paradoxically their focus on how the programme of reform might be problematic highlighted what good teachers of English did in the classroom. In this way the uncomfortable relationship of academics with the NLS sat apart perhaps from the reality for teachers who had no choice but to make it work on the ground. Thus, research on effective teachers of literacy mostly takes note, possibly unconsciously, of the type of practical knowledge that teachers bring successfully into their classrooms; it necessarily acknowledges the value of what teachers ‘know’ (Fenstermacher, 1994).

In the early days of the NLS research by Wray, Medwell, Poulson and Fox (2002) examined the practice of teachers who were identified as ‘excellent’ and compared it to others who were less well-regarded in terms of Headteacher and local authority recommendation. They observed that the successful teachers, all of whom were using the NLS for the first time, linked the teaching of word, sentence and text level into meaningful literacy experiences for their children; this, as compared with less effective teachers whose practice had become characterised by the separation of these three interdependent strands of literacy teaching encouraged by the prescriptive NLS. The effective teachers also made connections between text, sentence and word functions explicit in order that children assimilated the purposes for reading and writing across genres. Lessons were conducted at a brisk pace, using extensive modelling and careful differentiation; thus their teaching was a combination of deep subject knowledge and appropriately chosen pedagogical tools for delivery. Teachers were passionate about their subject and they knew their children in sufficient detail to plan lessons that matched their prior learning and set them appropriate targets for progress; in brief they were ‘assessment literate’. It is noticeable that this description of

teachers' subject knowledge and understanding for teaching English is not far removed from Elbaz' more general portrayal of teachers' knowledge earlier in this chapter (Elbaz, 1981).

Hall and Harding (2003) further identified that superior practice was defined by a confidence with eclecticism. The teachers in the studies included in their meta-analysis, which went beyond teaching in the UK alone, were not wedded to one approach to teaching and they saw the importance of fitness for purpose in terms of how they managed the timing and content of their lessons. Building on this work and that of others, Topping and Ferguson (2005) observed the pedagogy of five teachers recognised as effective and noted their skilful balance of different types of instruction, high levels of interaction and demonstration during shared and guided reading, careful use of open questions and sustained effort to motivate pupils and consolidate their performance. Topping and Ferguson's findings were tempered with their observation that *'Teachers are sometimes aware and sometimes not aware of what they do, and sometimes aware and sometimes not aware of what they do not do'* (p. 141). Such an observation is central to a discussion of the complexity of teachers' knowledge in that it highlights that aspects of teachers' practice may be so deeply embedded that they sit in their unconscious: this is of key relevance in this research.

Consistent features of the research context in several studies were that effective teachers of literacy tended to work in settings where leadership was strong and where senior managers had an understanding of and an interest in how children develop as literate beings. The importance of good leadership has also been broadly identified by the OISE studies charting progress of the NLS (Earl, et al., 2000; Earl, et al., 2001; Earl, et al., 2003) and by successive OfSTED reports on the teaching of English (OfSTED, 2003, 2005b, 2009, 2010, 2011). However, also relevant to the research context is that these studies of effective teachers focussed chiefly on the teaching of reading and writing and there was limited focus on the teaching of spoken English. This may reflect a preoccupation with literacy as reading and writing because of the nature of the NLS, and if it does, this is an indication that the field of policy may also affect the paths that researchers take in ways that they themselves do not acknowledge. Or, perhaps it is a sign that the teaching of English in England is so closely aligned with literacy that a focus on good teaching of speaking and listening in the context of good teachers has not been developed in so much detail

in research; an exception to this would be the work of Mercer and Alexander which has already been discussed.

Thus, at the time research for this project was conducted, there was an empirical basis for defining an effective teacher of literacy. The term ‘effective’ is potentially problematic because it suggests recognisable boundaries for measuring effectiveness. It is true to say that in all of the above studies ‘effectiveness’ was measured in largely qualitative terms; researchers trusted the judgements of Headteachers, of inspection reports from OfSTED and of their own observations of pupil motivation and engagement in lessons. Such qualitative notions of effectiveness are not always supported by education departments who make policy. On the contrary; it has been the role of successive education ministers in the past decade and more to identify success in literacy as measured solely by the output related to standardised test scores when children are 7 and 11 (Fisher, 2004). This particular dichotomy is of considerable relevance to later analysis.

Second Language Acquisition (SLA)

Throughout this project reference is made to children who are bilingual, those who have English as an additional language (EAL), and those who are developing a second language (L2). It should be noted, however, that many children learning English as an additional language are already exposed to two or more languages before they reach English. This would be true, for example, for Muslim children living in Britain who will be learning Arabic for their study of the Qu’ran but who might have a home language of Sylheti-Bengali. For this reason the terms bilingual learner, EAL learner, English language learners and L2 learner should be interpreted quite broadly to mean children operating in two or more languages where the home language is not English but where English, in this instance, is the target language for their classroom.

In the previous section the theories discussed rested on an assumption that first language development generally happens in the home; thus it takes place in a supportive environment where family response to children’s utterances provides reinforcement and modelling of language use in a meaningful context (Rodrigo, Gonzalez, De Vega, Muneton-Ayala, & Rodroques, 2004). Conversely, and significantly for teachers, second language acquisition for migrant family’s children in the UK occurs most commonly in school. In classrooms, second-

language learners must make sense of new words and perhaps new concepts in an environment where they lack the enhancing one-to-one attention of intensely interested adults (Siraj-Blatchford & Clarke, 2000). Taking account of this significant difference in the environmental conditions for language acquisition for the majority of adult and child learners, research identifies some theoretical models of second language acquisition. However, it is perhaps fair to say that the empirical basis for understanding how second language develops is less clearly defined than that for first language acquisition.

Krashen (1976, 1981) argued for a monitor theory; he identified that adult second language learners monitor – both consciously and unconsciously - their use of their new language and that they learn in a mixture of formal and informal settings. At odds with this, he suggested, is the development of the child second language learner who is unlikely to have access to formal language instruction and is more likely to acquire his new language through informal ‘intake’ in a classroom where the second language is dominant (Krashen, 1976 p.166). For children learning English as an L2 this process of classroom immersion is identified as a sequence broadly defined by the following: continued use of the first language; use of non-verbal communication; a period of silence; use of repetition and language play; use of words, formulae and routines; use of more complex English (Siraj-Blatchford & Clarke, 2000). Understanding that this sequence may not be linear and that it will manifest differently in different learners is core to successful teaching of children with EAL (Macrory, 2006). Furthermore, understanding that true bilingualism when English is the target language can take up to 7 years is something that classroom practice must take account of if children are to develop academic spoken and written competence in line with their monolingual peers (Lucas, Villegas, & Freedson-Gonzalez, 2008).

The differences identified by Krashen between adult and child L2 learners are significant for both children and their teachers in primary school classrooms. Firstly, they highlight the fact that adult second language learners are taught by practitioners who, presumably, have a detailed understanding of language structure and of how to make those structures explicit for their students. Secondly, if adults monitor their use of their new language they are consciously acquiring it in a way that a young child is unlikely to recognise. A child acquiring a second language is most likely to be taught by a non-specialist teacher who does not have the detailed

subject knowledge of the second-language adult trainer, and this child is unlikely to reflect consciously on his new language as he acquires it (Macrory, 2006). Access or lack of it to specialist support for second language acquisition for children in classrooms mostly populated by monolingual speakers is of particular relevance to the teachers interviewed for this research.

Age of acquisition appears crucial in first language development but possibly less so in second language acquisition. Lenneberg (1967) hypothesised the existence of a critical period for first language development which is prior to the onset of puberty when cerebral lateralisation becomes complete. Studies such as those of Genie (Curtiss, Fromkin, Krashen, Rigler, & Rigler, 1972), an adolescent discovered after a childhood of no spoken interaction and extreme sensory deprivation, who was able to develop only short verbal utterances after her discovery and rehabilitation, would appear to support this theory. However, the idea that children are best able to develop a second or subsequent language at an early age is the subject of some debate. It is perhaps a commonly held belief that children are more likely to attain full bilingualism if immersion in a new language occurs as they are developing their first language, for example between the ages of 2 and 5 years old, but the evidence from research is mixed.

Snow and Hoefnagel-Hohle (1978) studied the acquisition of Dutch by English speaking children of different ages and found that subjects in the age groups 12-15 made most rapid progress, while children of 8-10 and 12-15 had the best control of Dutch after one year. Interestingly 3 – 5 year olds made the least progress; if we consider that it is in these years that children are still experiencing rapid development of their first language, it is perhaps not surprising that pre-school aged children might make slower progress with developing a second language. SLA researchers themselves acknowledge the inherent problem of a range of variables such as environment and levels of motivation that affect acquisition which weaken some research outcomes (Hirsh, Morrison, & Silvia-Gaset, 2003). They also warn of simple misinterpretation of children's ultimate acquisition of a new language as evidence that the process of development has been somehow easy for them (Marinova-Todd, Marshall, & Snow, 2000 p.12). Therefore, findings relating to age of L2 acquisition are potentially inconclusive. The topic is raised here because age of L2 acquisition is likely to be something about which teachers will have at least a

belief if not some knowledge, and this may well affect their classroom decisions for supporting second language learners.

Motivation, and its relationship with other factors that impact on learning, is a particularly dominant theme in the research surrounding the L2 acquisition of both children and adults. Gardner and associates, working largely with Canadian subjects, have presented a considerable bank of research in this field and this is complemented by Dörnyei and associates who have worked predominantly with Hungarian samples. Worthy of note is the fact that there is so little SLA research in UK settings that looks at motivation and environment (Cameron, et al., 1996; Parke, et al., 2002). Work from overseas is often valuable but their very specific contexts, particularly of Canada in terms of its history of French-English bilingualism, means that conclusions drawn are not necessarily generalisable to other nations' experiences. Further to this, much of the work is with adult rather than child learners and, as has already been discussed, the learning situations for each are usually very different.

Taking into account the difficulties of using context-specific research, Gardner and associates' work is still significant in exploring motivation for second language acquisition. His study, using an attitude and motivation test battery, has identified five types of attitude towards language learning in second language learners (Gardner, 1985). These are: integrativeness – an individual's openness to identify with another language community; attitudes towards the learning situation – in other words response to environmental impact of the classroom and teacher; motivation – the extent to which the learner wants to learn the language; language anxiety; other less significant attributes. He acknowledges in particular the very strong correlation identified between integrativeness and motivation; specifically, his later work uncovers a match between integrative motivation and attainment in second language learning (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003). He argues that an individual's *attitude* to the language and culture of the target community, their readiness or otherwise to seek active integration in that community, is highly significant in their language development.

Gardner's view of motivation acknowledges its complexity as a human response to environmental and psychological stimuli (Gardner, Glicksman, & Smythe, 1978). His work is

developed by Dörnyei who has worked further on the concept of integrativeness as key to motivation in SLA. Dörnyei (Csizer & Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei, 2003) identifies integrativeness as a major influence on attainment in contexts beyond Canada and with school children as well as adults. Expanding the thinking on integrativeness he includes status of the target language as having a significant impact on motivation to learn it: for example, in research among teenage Hungarians learning a range of languages in school, very positive attitudes to English and German were recorded because of the perception that use of such languages might enhance job prospects in later life (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005). Thus this study identifies that school children are aware of an inherent currency among languages in that some potentially carry greater social and economic capital than others. The importance of this attribution of metaphorical wealth to English is discussed in chapter 3.

If attitudes to the target language are identifiably significant from studies of adult and teenage learners, one might assume that the status of the learner's home language would impact on motivation in terms of potential positive or negative effects on the learner's self-concept. Working with teachers and second language learners in the UK Cameron, Moon and Bygate (1996) observed teacher-pupil interaction in a secondary school with a high percentage of children who had various Asian home languages. The impetus for the study had been that the teachers themselves were concerned at the relationship between limited pupil responses in lessons and poor performance in exams. On the question of attitude to L1 as a motivational feature of SLA, they found that children considered themselves 'intelligent' if they used only English in school and saved their native Punjabi for home. Furthermore, teachers' attitudes to home languages were mixed and, the authors surmised, less positive than attitudes might be in a Canadian-French context where languages might be held as equally prestigious (p.232).

Thus, teachers' attitudes to different languages are depicted as significant in the complex picture of motivation and second language learning emerging from research. These attitudes are likely also to be shaped by L2 learners' sensitivity to pragmatic use of their target language. Understanding and using implicit meaning in discourse is a highly complex skill that can present difficulties for second language learners (Cameron, et al., 1996). However, second language learners bring existing skills from their first language and there is evidence that some L2 learners

transfer their existing pragmatic language knowledge to their target language (Huth, 2006). Research into pragmatic use of language among second language learners is disparate, and research into young bilinguals' pragmatic understanding is limited, but there are some common areas of discussion focussing on the nature of the environment in which children and adults might develop pragmatic knowledge in their new language.

The requirement for teachers to be sensitive to both the need to develop spoken language skills and the need to present opportunities for developing them is a theme in research focussing on pragmatic development in young bilingual learners. Cameron et al (1996) observed that explicit recognition of pragmatic use of language is crucially important in two ways in classrooms with high percentages of bilingual learners. Firstly, learners' understanding of pragmatic classroom discourse dictates their capacity to access task explanations and teacher-pupil dialogue. Secondly, English teachers' lack of conscious knowledge about their own use of spoken English means that it is often peppered with hidden meaning and that they do not see a need for further clarification for their non-fluent English speakers. In essence, this study identified that English teachers have insufficient subject knowledge about the English language to understand that they need to make explicit their pragmatic use of English to their second language learners.

In a study of primary aged children, Ellis studied two boys, aged 10 and 11, looking specifically at the ways in which they were able to articulate requests in the classroom (Ellis, 1992). Although both children were able to develop fluency and spoken competence over time, Ellis discovered that the interaction with their teacher was often limited to routine requests for only a small number of things particular to the classroom experience. This meant, he surmised, that the boys did not have access to the full range of situations in which requests might be made; for example, to unknown adults in unfamiliar settings. Thus, Ellis argues, the classroom does not necessarily provide a wide enough set of experiences for children to develop full communicative competence in English when it is their L2.

The capacity to develop pragmatic use of a target language may be affected by the desire to be a part of the host community socially and culturally. In this way, it is difficult to see how research might separate the pragmatic development of language from the development of cultural

understanding, particularly in relation to second language learners. Indeed, the research into pragmatics and L2 mirrors that of studies into motivation and L2. Thus there is an empirical basis supporting a picture that combines pragmatic language development, motivation and attitude to the target language as central to understanding how children might learn a new language. In this way, teachers' potential subject knowledge base will be dependent on their own awareness of the nuances in their use of their first language and their understanding of the value attributed to use of English as an L1.

In chapter 1 it was recognised that curriculum materials for the teaching of L2 have been devised largely as appendices to those related to literacy development in a first language. As such, it is unlikely that they might foster in teachers an understanding that can reflect the intricate nature of second language acquisition. However, at the start of this chapter, consideration was given to teachers' practice as an essential part of their knowledge and understanding, and thus some discussion of what an effective practitioner for L2 might look like is relevant after the following section which explores the potential knowledge for literacy development in L2 learners. It will be noticeable to the reader that the following two sections are not as clearly demarcated as those for L1 and this is because of the nature of research in the field of L2 which is both more disparate and less clearly defined.

Language Learning and Literacy Development for L2 learners

Given the assumption that second language acquisition is different from first language development, it follows that aspects of literacy development for L2 learners also differ from those of L1, although the differences are possibly less marked and there is some common ground between the two (Flynn, 2007a). For many researchers the starting point appears to be in the notion of L2 learners' metalinguistic awareness: that is the extent to which they bring their knowledge of their home language and literacy to bear on their development of speech and literacy in a target language. Thus, the discussion in this section is less clearly separable into areas of speaking and listening, reading and writing than that devoted to L1 language and literacy, but consideration is given to each. As in the section for L1 language and literacy, there is a noticeable prevalence of the importance of talk in all areas of literacy development.

It is perhaps the case that much of the research around second language acquisition assumes a deficit role by the teacher or that the focus is on what is *not* happening in instruction rather than on what is successful. Thus it is difficult to extract what the ‘good’ teacher of children with EAL looks like and what their subject knowledge base consists of. A study by Long (2002) attempts to define what a young child suddenly faced with the alien environment of school in a foreign country needs in order to develop a second language. She lists the use of visual cues, explicit teaching of new vocabulary, enunciating clearly, relating learning to familiar contexts and allowing the child time to experiment with her new language in risk-free settings (p.118). However, this is one case study and the sample was her daughter. While the advice to teachers may be valuable, the fact that Long does not acknowledge the potential weaknesses inherent in her study relating to her role as mother-researcher, and the fact she cannot generalise from case study, means that it forms a limited empirical basis from which to theorise a pedagogical approach to second language teaching.

Attempts to develop an empirical basis for the classroom are often presented in studies that draw on a range of research rather than a single research question; this possibly because SLA research sits in several fields – psycho-linguistic and socio-cultural – and these fields appear less easy to marry than they might be in a discussion of first language development. Thus, while Long’s research may be flawed, it is valuable as part of a rather limited number of studies which genuinely try to examine how best to provide an environment for L2 acquisition. Turning to the meta-analyses of the potential subject base for the teacher of second language learners (Collier, 1995; Lucas, et al., 2008; Macrory, 2006; Wong Fillmore & Snow, 2000) these identify the following as part of successful classroom practice for developing spoken English in L2 learners: understanding that learning more than one language can foster a cognitive advantage; recognition of children’s need to listen and to be engaged with good models of spoken English; sensitivity to children’s need to be silent for as long as 6 months when first acquiring a new language; understanding that children need to hear language used in context and to be given opportunities to speak using new vocabulary in context; understanding that conversational fluency is not the same as written fluency and that support is needed to make conventions of either explicit; understanding that children’s fluency in their first language will influence their capacity to learn their new language.

In these same studies the concept of metalinguistic awareness is referred to as an asset for bilingual learners. Some studies present anecdotal evidence of children's metalinguistic awareness in spoken English and understanding of narrative. Flynn (2008) observed a young Polish boy's interest in his developing English when describing his car to visitors to his school. Having named it as a Vauxhall Corsa he went on to explain that it was "Surname Vauxhall; first name Corsa" (p.25); this demonstrated that he had considered name order and understood conventions relating to car naming in a way that appeared sophisticated for a five year old. Discussion with teachers and Headteachers in East London (Flynn & Stainthorp, 2006) gave further weight to the idea that learning in two languages has positive benefits. This study reported on one Headteacher who had observed that the most gifted story tellers in her school were her Bengali children. She put this down to their immersion in narrative from two cultures which gave them insight into common themes in stories across home and school.

Thus while literacy may, either consciously or unconsciously, be defined as reading and writing by both teachers and policy makers, the strengths in bilingual learners' skills may lie more in their understanding of language structures in spoken languages. Teachers' failure to recognise children's existing knowledge about language as a strength is referred to in work by Robertson (2002) and Parke and Drury (2001). In each of their studies negative associations with bilingualism are founded on teachers' perceptions that lack of English means lack of language; in other words, teachers' make tacit assumptions that linguistic capital is measured in terms of ownership of a dominant target language (see Chapter 3's section on linguistic capital for a fuller discussion of this theme).

Verhoeven's research on learning to read in a new language identifies the important role of oral language proficiency in the target language and the cultural relevance of texts in supporting L2 reading progress (Droop & Verhoeven, 1998; Verhoeven, 1994). In both studies, working with second language learners in Dutch schools, the authors found that children's oral language skills were directly correlated with their success in reading; not surprisingly their fluency in Dutch affected their capacity to read in it. Droop and Verhoeven also found that reading texts that were culturally relevant was positively related to reading progress; unlike Long's case study their experiment involved several control groups and a series of measures, thus the data appear robust

in supporting their conclusions. Also of note is that guidance related to the teaching of new arrivals in English primary schools draws on their findings that literature must be culturally relevant and carefully matched to existing vocabulary knowledge (DCSF, 2007).

A more recent study by the same authors (Droop & Verhoeven, 2003) adds further evidence to the view that in order to succeed with reading comprehension children need explicit introduction to a wide range of spoken vocabulary in their L2. This finding is common to L2 reading research in English primary schools where studies have also found that second language learners may quickly develop word recognition skills but their comprehension skills are not as well progressed as their monolingual peers by the age of 7 (Stuart, 2004) or later primary years (Hutchinson, et al., 2003). The implication for teacher subject knowledge is that they need to spend more time on developing oral language proficiency but that this may be little understood; policy and teachers' focus on reading and writing has already been alluded to and teachers conflation of literacy development with language development may mask the inter-relationship of oral language skills and comprehension .

Turning to L2 learners and writing, the cognitive advantage of learning in two languages is explored. Bialystock (1997) studied monolingual and bilingual 4 to 5 year olds, in order to gauge their print awareness. She found that bilingual children had a more advanced understanding of the representational nature of print than monolinguals because they knew at this young age that the print carried meaning and that the picture was not writing; this understanding spanned both languages. Interestingly Bialystock found that French/English bilingual 4 year olds outperformed Chinese/English bilinguals in developing concepts about print. However, by 5 years old Chinese pupils were leading both the bilingual French group and their monolingual peers. From this she surmised that there might be initial confusion for children learning in two languages, particularly for Chinese children who are used to an ideographic rather than a sound-based writing system. Bialystock's work is supported by further evidence from Kenner and Kress (2003) who also studied Chinese pupils but observed, through case study, how one child was able to quickly adapt to writing in English despite its very considerable differences from Chinese script.

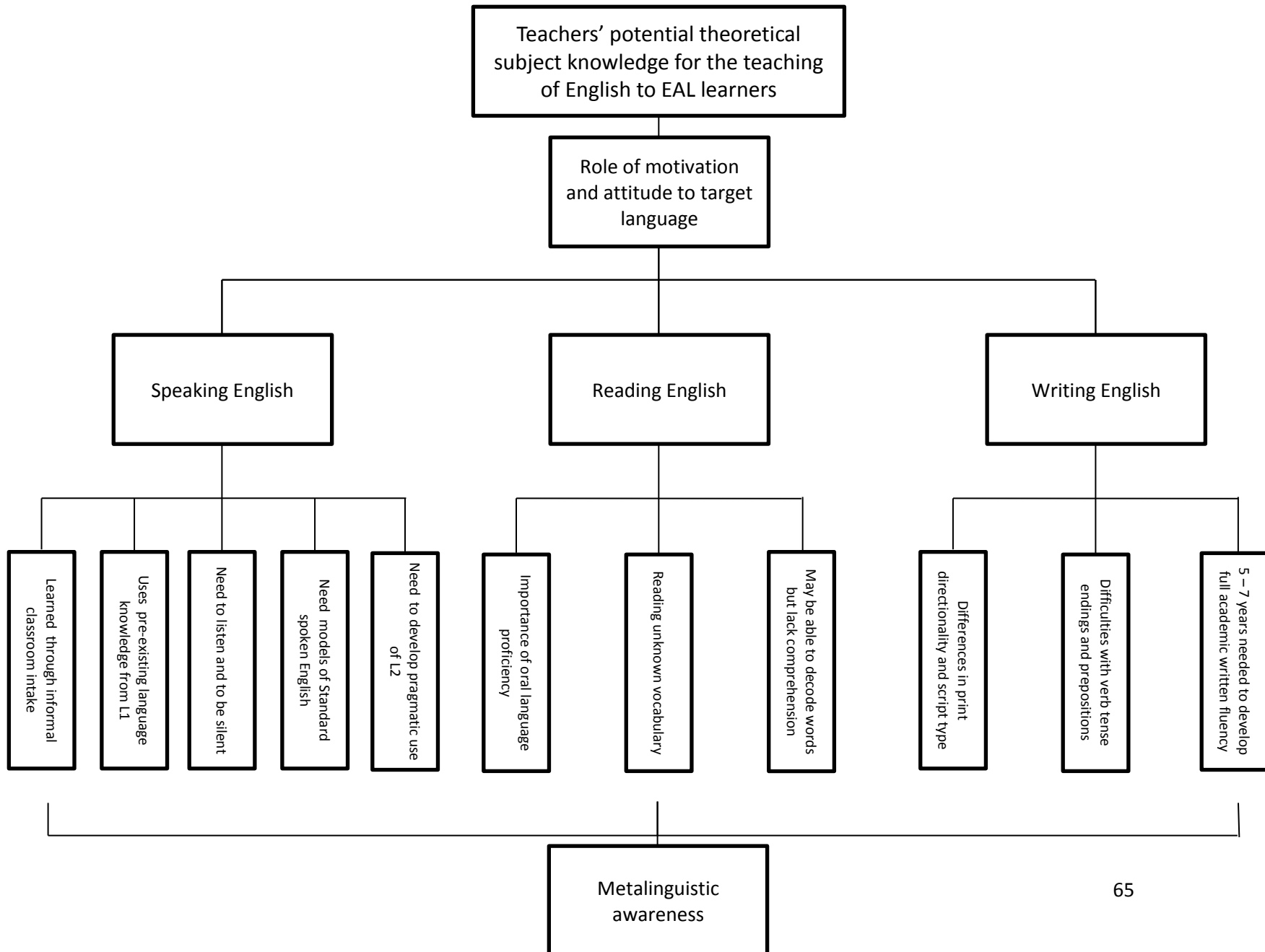
Cameron and Besser (2004) focussed on the written output of older children with EAL in their end of Key Stage 2 tests taken at the age of 11, and found a wide ranging series of differences between L1 and L2 learners use of written English. In summary, they found that able L2 writers used sophisticated figurative language and had a greater command of story-telling structure in fictional writing (Flynn & Stainthorp, 2006), however all L2 learners were disadvantaged by non-fiction tasks that were culturally specific or related to genres with which they were unfamiliar. Less able L2 writers had difficulty with verb tense endings, formulaic phrases and prepositions and these might be described as the stumbling blocks to success in writing when L2 learners' support has been restricted to a focus on establishing spoken fluency only. One positive comment from the research by Cameron and Besser was that there was a better grasp of written English in children in Key Stage 2 than in those studied at Key Stage 3 in a parallel project, and this was attributed to the increased focus in the NLS guidance on making explicit the conventions of genre and register in written English. Thus, in some ways, the teaching of English to L1 learners had built-in advantage for the writing of L2 learners: however, this is likely to have been coincidental rather than planned and it is not clear whether the sample tested were taught by teachers who saw the advantages for all of their pupils in the practice of the curriculum for English at the time.

The paragraphs above indicate that there is a substantial body of knowledge for teachers to know and understand when teaching children with EAL. This of itself might be a source of anxiety for policy makers and academics alike if we consider that teachers vary in their capacity to recognise what they do not know (Topping & Ferguson, 2005), that curriculum guidance in the UK is heavily focussed on the development of English as a first language, and that English of itself is a language of such global importance (Crystal, 2003) that teachers' native use of English might be a barrier to their being able to think outside the framework of the dominant language of the classroom (Luke, 2008).

However, as mentioned in chapter 1, policy makers have attempted to address the need for detailed teachers' subject knowledge and this is evident in the documentation presented in Table 1.1 (chapter 1). For example, there is acknowledgement that teachers should celebrate the range of languages in their schools, should ensure access to good models of spoken and written English

and that children should be taught alongside their monolingual peers to maintain interest and motivation in their studies (DfES, 2005a). There is also recognition that teachers should provide visual aids, focus on meaningful talk-based activities and that they should be prepared to accept their English language learners' needs to be silent at first (DCSF, 2007). There is no clear evidence whether this guidance is used in the classroom to support language and literacy development in L2 learners, and the lack of reference to it in research and professional commentary might suggest that it is not. If teacher subject knowledge is a mixture of knowledge, belief, experience and practice, then perhaps it is too much to expect paper-based guidance to generate the level of support needed to ensure that teachers are equipped to manage a pupil population with differing linguistic needs. The potential range of theoretical subject knowledge for the teaching of children with EAL is summarised at Table 2.2.

Figure 2.2 Showing the potential range of subject knowledge related to the teaching of English to children with EAL for primary school teachers



The Effective Teacher of Language and Literacy for L2 learners

When compared with the studies reviewed earlier in this chapter which related to effective teachers of literacy for L1 learners, a less coherent picture of the teacher is found in the research related to second language acquisition where the focus on pedagogy tends to be relevant to teachers of adults learning a new language. The bulk of research into L2 acquisition and learning also tends to focus on children rather than on their teachers, making the identification of appropriate pedagogy a complicated task. Furthermore there is not a centralised curriculum for teaching children learning English as an L2 and therefore no particular focus on this as pertaining to a particular skill set. This makes it potentially separate from teachers' consideration of their practice for L1; where the one is imposed and the other is not, it may be the case that links between the two remain broken when in fact there are aspects of teaching L1 effectively that transfer well to L2 (Flynn, 2007a).

Flynn and Stainthorp's work explored the practice of teachers in L2 settings (Flynn, 2007a; Flynn & Stainthorp, 2006), although in this instance the intention had been to observe teachers' use of the NLS rather than to analyse effective teaching for L2. An outcome of this research, carried out in high-density EAL settings where test results were in line with or better than national averages, was the finding that teachers who taught children with EAL had a particular knowledge base that supported their L2 learners' language and literacy acquisition. The teachers observed shared many of the characteristics identified in other research relating to effective teachers of literacy such as clarity in their use of modelling and explanation (Topping & Ferguson, 2005), weaving activities with objectives into meaningful literacy experiences (Wray, et al., 2002) and they adapted the curriculum to suit individual need rather than adhering to it unswervingly (Hall & Harding, 2003). However, in addition they had an understanding of the place of spoken language use in second language acquisition and this dominated planning for objectives related to any aspect of literacy. They also understood the need to start from where the children's English fluency could allow them to make progress and differentiated their input accordingly: in other words, the linguistic development needs of the children dictated lesson content rather than the lesson content starting with a curriculum objective which may or may not have been relevant to their pupils. In this way, they combined excellence in the teaching of L1

with subject knowledge for the teaching of L2 and test results for English in their schools were evidence that this worked.

It is a frustration that there are not more studies that draw on an empirical basis from which to define the knowledge base needed for teachers of L2 learners and this is identified as problematic in the UK by Andrews who is critical of the emphasis on policy analysis in academics' writing over research that addresses L2 pedagogic practice (2009, p. 9). The dearth of evidence relating to good practice for L2 is of relevance to the TDA's attempts at the time of data collection to establish a national school workforce for EAL (TDA, 2009). Other research tends to try and define 'good practice' in a way that draws on data that is tangentially connected to the bigger picture of what the teacher needs to do with her class when it includes second language learners (Gaies, 1983; Macrory, 2006; Wong Fillmore & Snow, 2000). It appears that researchers are willing to engage in discussion papers expressing what they think should be happening in the classroom, but find it difficult to support their thinking with data related to teachers' practice. One possible reason for this is that teachers' practice is difficult to research empirically and that the nuances and subtleties of what the 'good teacher' does are often related to unobservable and hard to define characteristics (Flynn & Stainthorp, 2006). These discussion papers are supported by research by psycho-linguists which focuses valuably on SLA processes and learning outcomes within very narrow foci, but which doesn't necessarily look at context and suggest clear implications for more general classroom practice.

The dilemma of limitations in L2 research is summed up by Wong Kwok Shing (2006) who attempts to draw together research from the quantitative/psychological field and extrapolate from it proposals for effective practice with young bilinguals. Acknowledging that his own work is another discussion paper he expresses alarm at the ever widening gap between theory and practice. This, he feels, is at the heart of the problem; that theory tends to take a view on 'developmental milestones or learning mechanisms' while practitioners want to focus on 'fun activities' (p.289). That the two camps can sit in open hostility towards each other is unhelpful when a theoretical and empirical basis for second language teaching is so much needed (Cameron, et al., 1996). Another problem associated with practitioner research is that it has a tendency to focus on socio-cultural aspects of difference even when setting out to look at

language acquisition. Work such as Gregory's and Pagett's studies in to Bengali speaking children's language lives (Gregory, 1996 2001; Pagett, 2006) are a valuable addition to the field, but they encourage teachers and student teachers to consider social development over and instead of theoretical aspects of language acquisition. This potentially fosters the minimisation of difference because language difference is conflated with national and ethnic difference.

There is an attempt to theorise an approach to second language acquisition that tries to subvert the divide between psycho-linguistic and socio-cultural research and map territory that conceptualises SLA differently: this is referred to as the 'social turn' (Block, 2003; Firth & Wagner, 1997, 2007). In essence its proponents call for researchers to reconceptualise second language acquisition as something negotiated and co-constructed between native speaker and language learner in a Vygotskian sense (Firth & Wagner, 2007), rather than assuming a deficit position of the latter when in conversation with the former (Firth and Wagner, 1997). The notion of 'language learner' they see as problematic when considering second language acquisition because it suggests that the non-native speaker's relative lack of competence in a target language situates them unfavourably in the eyes of researchers and supports an idealised vision of the native language speaker (p. 295). Furthermore they are critical of the way in which, they perceive, some SLA research has reduced the image of the second language learner to a 'decontextualised mind internalising rules of grammar' (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2007, p. 911) and call for an approach that considers explicitly the identity of the learner (Block, 2007).

The researchers related to the 'social turn' have their critics who attest that the 'social turn' conflates and therefore confuses language *use* with language *acquisition* and that this undermines its position within the field (Gass, 1998; M. Long, 1997). In essence their objection is that Firth and Wagner are 'comparing apples and oranges' and that there is a need for breadth among researchers in their view of language acquisition: a breadth that that considers language both as a social phenomenon and as an abstract entity (Gass, 1998). Furthermore, Long criticises the fact that 'social turn' theorists assert the need for their reconceptualised view of second language acquisition without presenting an empirical basis for their rejection of existing research. They need, he suggests, to show *how* they plan to deal with the methodological problems associated

with socially contextualised research where the wide range of potential variables may threaten validity (M. Long, 1997, p. 322).

Defining the usefulness of what she refers to as ‘the sociocultural turn’, Johnson (2006) draws on the work of Firth and Wagner among others to present an argument for a particular view of second language acquisition that can support teachers in training. It is interesting that in her discussion she refers to the ‘sociocultural turn’, as opposed to ‘social turn’, as a way of viewing the teaching of second language learners rather than a way of viewing how children acquire a second language. In this way she perhaps addresses the criticism of Gass and Long, and draws out an important strand from Firth and Wagner’s work: namely that it can support the way in which teachers view second language learners rather than that it presents a new theory of second language acquisition.

Johnson’s work is of particular interest to the context of this project because it explores the importance of two things: that teachers operate within communities of practice which of themselves may develop their subject knowledge base for their teaching (Rogoff, 2008; Wenger, 1998); and that there is a need for an epistemology of teacher subject knowledge that takes account of both teachers’ understanding of second language acquisition and of their prior experiences and their interpretation of those experiences (Elbaz, 1981). Thus she presents a valuable updated reference to Elbaz’ work and underscores its continuing importance as an influence on research in to teachers’ classroom practice. However, as with other writers supporting the ‘social turn’, her work is a discussion of how researchers might develop theoretically and philosophically in their view of SLA research but she does not present an empirical basis for how researchers might practically take account of the seemingly insurmountable epistemological divide between second language researchers. Block (2003, 2007) has made some attempt to redress this balance by including reference to an empirical basis in his work, but his focus largely on adult learners and on learner identity means that there is not a clear match with outcomes in ‘social turn’ research and the practice of teachers in primary school classrooms.

In essence the 'social turn' discussion is a contribution to both the theory of second language acquisition and to research-based interpretations of teachers' practice. In many ways the well-constructed debate that is played out in particular in two special editions of *The Modern Language Journal* (1997 and 2007) a decade apart, serves simply to further remind researchers that there exists a polarised debate about second language learning and the acquisition of a second language. However, it also suggests that the field is attempting to move forward in ways that may address the concerns of Wong Kwok Shing (2006). There is some praise for Firth and Wagner for having opened up the debate in their presentation of the 'social turn' and a suggestion that, despite what appear to be significant and well-grounded objections to their assertions, they may have generated some shift in focus in more recent second language research (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2007; Larsen-Freeman, 2007).

What is perhaps most important in terms of furthering the cause of children learning a new language in the classroom is that the field of enquiry attempts is allowed to broaden and embrace what are currently two parallel worlds, and find new space in which to explore the outcomes of research from a range of views (Larsen-Freeman, 2007). In order that this can happen there has to be recognition that within SLA research the researchers' questions and the data they choose to focus on will reflect their own academic backgrounds (Gass, 1998) and that researcher positioning must be explicitly accounted for and placed in context (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2007). The context and background for the researcher in this research are explored in chapter 4.

Within this project it was never the intention to settle the debates among second language acquisition researchers, but it is acknowledged that all of those writing in the literature reviewed in this chapter have something to bring potentially to analysis of the data. However, it is also perhaps generally acknowledged that teachers do not openly consider theoretical models of language acquisition when teaching (Johnson, 2006) and that therefore attempting to analyse their discourse about their practice in line with multiple theories is not helpful. For the purposes of data analysis in this thesis, it was considered that the work of theorists relating to the 'social turn' was already closely aligned with that of Rogoff and Wenger on communities of practice, and also that the theoretical framework provided by Bourdieu's logic of practice took account of situations for language learning in a way that would make the addition of 'social turn' theory a

complicating feature of analysis. The view of language as ‘value-laden’ for example is central to this project and one developed in more detail in chapter 3 in relation to the Bourdieusian perspective on language use. This view does not sit fruitfully with Firth and Wagner’s call to de-capitalise language learning in reconceptualising the position of the learner in research. However, commentary on the conceptualising of L2 teachers’ experiences in terms of ‘social turn’ theory is returned to in the concluding chapter in order that this important seam of discussion in SLA research is appropriately acknowledged.

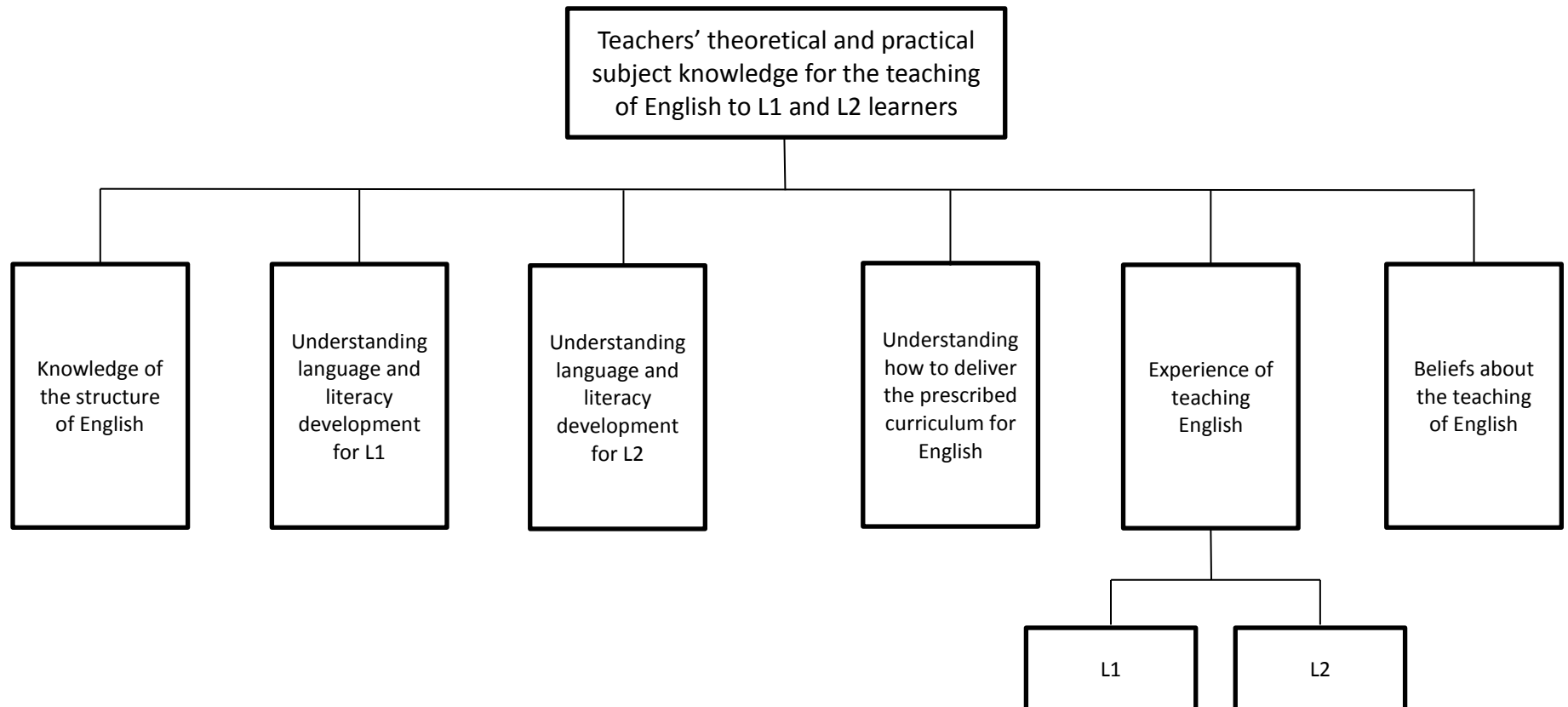
The discussion in this chapter has depicted a somewhat patchwork view of SLA research to date. The field appears fractured so that it is difficult to find a coherent message for practitioners; the field is also divided among its own researchers who tend to fall into spheres of practice that do not always sit well together. However, the experiences of the researcher in this project do not support a negative image of the teacher and bilingual pupils (Flynn, 2007a, 2008; Flynn & Stainthorp, 2006). Nevertheless other research doesn’t often look at teachers and what they are doing well; it looks at the children and then works out what is not happening in their instruction. This presents teachers with a double bind: they are being considered failures for not teaching their children appropriately and yet they do not have a clear, empirical basis from which to learn how to do it better. The fact that these same teachers are inhabiting a pedagogical field where choices about practice for L1 are externally imposed and literacy-related adds to the complexity of their lives as professionals; this multi-layered conflict is key to later analysis.

Summary:

This necessarily lengthy chapter has described the areas of potential subject knowledge that primary school teachers need in order to support the teaching of English to both L1 and L2 learners. The chapter started with an epistemology of subject knowledge which acknowledged the importance of seeing teachers’ understanding as a complex mix of theoretically informed practice, experience in the classroom and beliefs about the teaching of English (Fenstermacher, 1994). The nature of teachers’ beliefs and understanding, or their lack of understanding, are likely to be related to the fields operating in their professional lives as explored in chapter 1. In the spirit of a chapter which has encouraged the reader to think beyond a purely academic

interpretation of teachers' subject knowledge (Elbaz, 1981), Figure 2.3 presents a diagrammatic representation of the marriage of teachers' theoretical and practical understanding for the teaching of English. This final figure captures the sheer breadth of understanding and experience required to teach children with differing linguistic backgrounds and illustrates the complexity of the context within which the teachers interviewed for this research were operating.

Figure 2.3 Showing the combined practical and theoretical subject knowledge for primary school teachers relating to the teaching of English to L1 and L2 learners



Chapter 3: Bourdieusian Theory and the Teaching of English to Children of ‘The New Migration’ in Primary Classrooms

In this chapter the commentary moves from the curriculum-related consideration of how English is taught in schools presented in chapters 1 and 2, to discussion of Bourdieusian theory and its relationship to teacher habitus and linguistic capital in the specific context of second language learning.

Bourdieusian Theory

Bourdieu’s theory of practice defines a methodological toolkit, a set of inter-related concepts, which he names field, habitus, capital and doxa. While it is possible to consider each separately, the effects of one upon the other are inextricably linked in ways that make their separation difficult (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). This discussion will set out both their individual identifying characteristics and their inter-dependence as a set of principles for observing socio-cultural responses to circumstance. It attempts to define the theory, but in doing so must also comment on the method for the two are at times indistinguishable; further discussion of Bourdieu’s ‘practical logic’ (Bourdieu, 1990a) as an interpretive tool is presented in chapter 4.

For Bourdieu each of us operates in a field; thus ‘practice’ is a product of expectations belonging to a specific arena be it education, politics or the family. Each field is governed by a set of rules which determine the behaviours of those agents working or operating in it. The extent to which we are aware of the rules imposed by the field, and of our capacity to operate according to them, may govern how far we feel a sense of belonging within it. Bourdieu uses a gaming metaphor in part explanation (Bourdieu, 1990a); in a game the sense of field is literal, rules are overt and specific, the boundaries clearly demarcated. He warns us, however, against using this analogy too literally because a field is not really demarcated by explicit structures and rules in the way that a game is (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Social fields are the products of long, slow processes of automisation and one does not embark on the game by a conscious act; one is born into the game and evolves with the game (Bourdieu, 1990a). The extent to which we are consciously, or unconsciously, agents within particular fields

may depend on the length of time with which we have been associated with a specific practice. Grenfell and James (1998) describe field as a structured system of social relations at a micro and macro level. Individuals, institutions and groupings all exist in relation to each other in some way. The earlier players enter the game, and the longer they are a part of it, the less aware they are of the ways in which their actions and decisions are governed and shaped by ‘unthought presuppositions’ which Bourdieu identifies as beliefs or ‘doxa’(p.67).

Within a Bourdieusian framework, doxa might be described as that sense of reality that individuals have which can be described as orthodox; they are socially derived beliefs (Grenfell & James, 1998). Doxa support the idea that practice is carried out in one form or another because it feels sensible, it grows from common sense. They are generated by the field and are frequently unacknowledged in everyday discourse. Thus, unlike a belief that may relate to a specific deity for example, doxa in the Bourdieusian sense refers to undisputed, naive compliance with the fundamental suppositions of the field (Bourdieu, 1990a). Doxa support the relationship between the habitus and the field to which is attuned ‘because agents never know completely what they are doing (and) that what they do has more sense than they know’(p. 69). Dissociating the habitus from doxa for the purposes of research can be complicated and perhaps even unhelpful, but for the purposes of this research doxa are defined as a set of largely tacit presuppositions that govern the practice within the field and therefore shape much of the behaviour and dispositions in the habitus.

Bourdieu defined individual habitus as that part of us which is produced by past experiences and which unconsciously moulds our present and future actions; an objective structuring structure which is removed from subjectivity because it is embedded in unconscious rather than conscious actions (Bourdieu, 1990a). The rules of the game dictate behaviours within the field; thus field and habitus are mutually constituting (Grenfell & James, 1998). Habitus is ‘a socialized subjectivity’ (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 126) and is the product of our personal and group histories. In Bourdieusian thinking habitus is different from habit in that it pertains largely to those actions which are taken unconsciously and in response to the demands of the field which may operate equally at the level of the subconscious or unconscious. Thus, expectations of behaviour related to social class or other types of field are governed implicitly by either

conscious or unconscious knowledge of group habitus: this knowledge is defined as social or economic capital, something that can be held to varying degrees by members of the group. Capital might be likened to a virtual currency: something which individuals and groups seek to hold in order to establish a position of strength. Furthermore, there is potential for individuals to convert different forms of capital: for example, linguistic capital can be exchanged for educational qualifications which are of themselves a form of cultural capital and lead to the possibility of employment which generates economic capital (Goldstein, 2008) .

This position of strength through ownership of capital is not always recognised overtly by the groups or individuals that hold it: indeed it is the unconscious generation and regeneration of group habitus and associated capital that Bourdieu encourages researchers to analyse with his theory of practice. Social and cultural capital are clearly exemplified in Reay's study of gender and class among mothers in an inner-city primary school (Reay, 1998). Mothers' own educational experiences and the ways they shaped both habitus and capital were very powerful in relation to how they nurtured their children's education at home and at school. Middle class mothers were both familiar with the school system and rich in cultural capital which allowed them to engage in the systematic gathering of cultural capital on behalf of their children (p. 70). Their strength within the field was in contrast to Reay's observations of migrant mothers who were less familiar with British schooling and therefore lacked important social and cultural capital that would have been valued by their children's teachers.

The intricacies in power relations between teachers and parents recorded in this study suggest a much more complex set of associations than policy-makers might acknowledge, and Reay notes the importance of researchers being able to highlight this in an educational era where the nature of the curriculum takes centre stage possibly at the expense of any focus on important social aspects of children's and families' school experiences (p. 71). This is particularly important in light of Goldstein's view that capital exchange may work at many levels in school; this of itself suggests that differing levels of social and cultural capital will impact variably on educational outcomes.

Thus, habitus is shaped by field which in turn generates, or does not generate, capital through often continuous processes of unquestioned and reinforcing behaviours and expectations which become the implicit rules of the game. For some this is unacceptably deterministic as a theory of human action and interaction; in particular there are those who take issue with habitus as a construct which appears to deny the potential for conscious actions or for movement away from the expected norms of the field (King, 2000; Nash, 1990). However, these same critics also argue, in tandem with Reay, that researchers have sometimes misinterpreted the habitus (Lau, 2004) or that there are some inconsistencies in some of Bourdieu's own thinking about habitus which has led to considerable variation in interpretation of its use as a research tool (Nash, 1990). Overall there is some consensus among researchers that Bourdieusian thinking has so much to offer sociological interpretation of events that some critical tolerance is desirable.

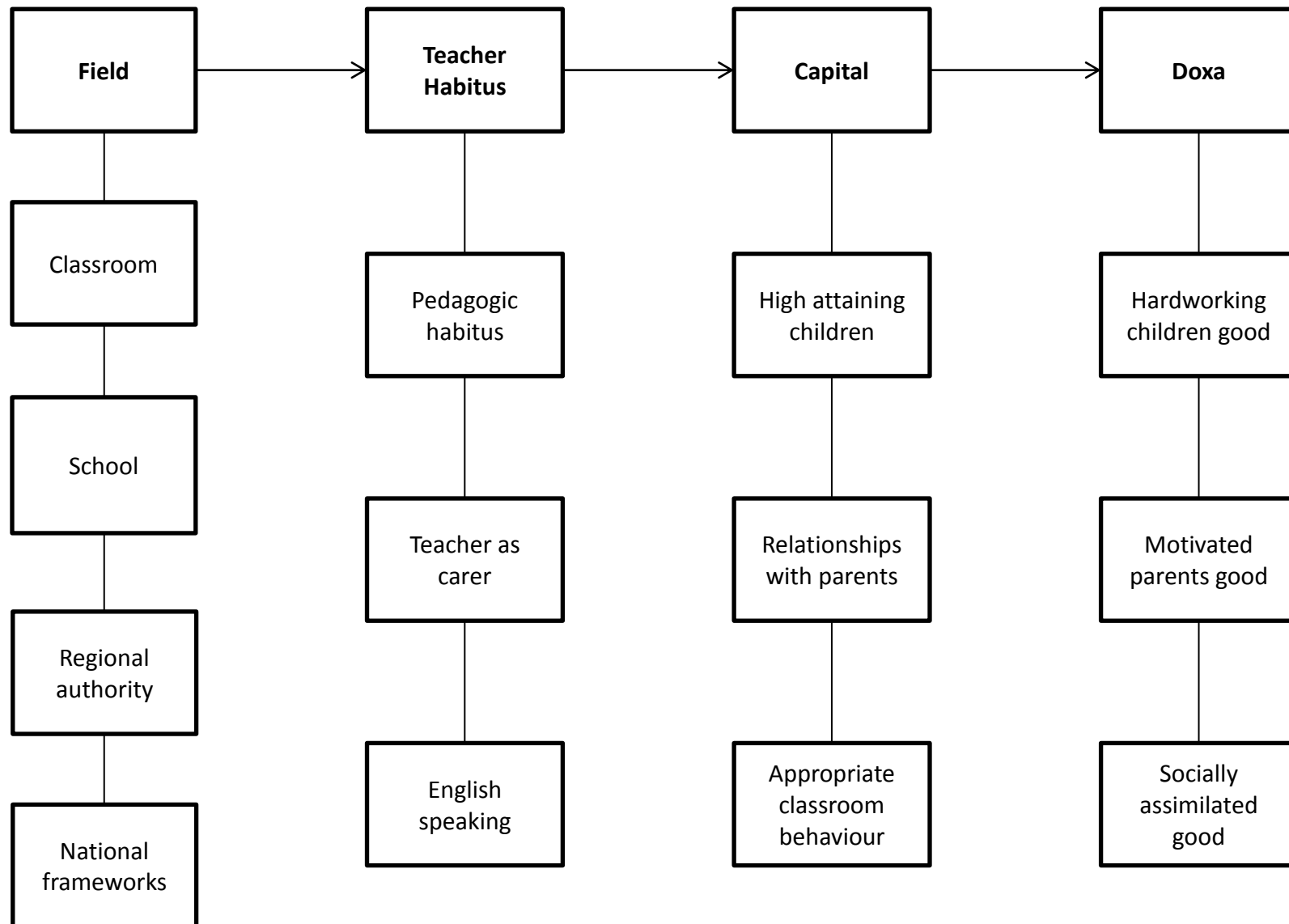
Bourdieu viewed criticism of his practical logic as unjust and borne of a misinterpretation of habitus. Rather, he said, habitus is "an open system of dispositions that is constantly subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or modifies its structures." (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.132). Bourdieu acknowledges that where there is a disjuncture between field and habitus that there is a greater likelihood of change rather than a control of response by the habitus. This appears contradictory: on the one hand habitus is a structuring structure whereby the strategies produced by the habitus give the appearance of being determined by future needs but they are in fact structured around past experiences (Bourdieu, 1990a); but on the other hand it is only in relation to certain structures that habitus produces given discourses or practices (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

It is just this inconsistency that is cited as problematic by Nash, particularly in relation to Bourdieu's account of 'socially differentiated attainment in terms of habitus' (Nash, 1990, p. 431). Nevertheless, Reay's use of habitus alone illustrates the valuable way in which this particular lens is helpful for uncovering subtleties and complexities in education that might otherwise remain unexplored. Furthermore, Fisher's observations, introduced in chapter 2, of teachers' failure to change their pedagogic habitus despite a surface change in curriculum and classroom management (Fisher, 2006) is an example of Bourdieu's suggestion that habitus can remain untouched despite an apparent modification in some behaviours. Whether teacher habitus

is a product of past or present, conscious or unconscious, also relates to several forms of capital that are pertinent in the classroom and to the existence of doxa which shape teachers' choices about their practice and their relationships with children and families.

Teachers' capital can be divided into different strands and held in relation to several different aspects of their working lives. In chapter 2, the epistemology of teacher subject knowledge illustrated that teachers' knowledge of their practice rests on a mix of experience, understanding, belief and habit (Fenstermacher, 1994) and this notion necessarily supports a belief that teachers therefore have differing levels of social and cultural capital shaping their habitus and by definition their practice. Figure 3.1 demonstrates how the field relates to teacher habitus, beliefs, and potential areas of capital. Pedagogic habitus can be used to describe those aspects of a teachers' professional persona that govern the choices they make in their practice and the things that they want to see in the classroom. In primary schools in England these are most commonly related to high attainment because of the way in which teacher competence is judged in part by national assessment and test outcomes of 7 and 11 year olds as discussed in chapters 1 and 2; this means that capital is potentially gained by having a class of high performing children and therefore the habitus is entwined with doxa relating to hard working and able children as something 'good'.

Figure 3.1 A Bourdieusian interpretation of aspects of the teaching experience in the primary school classroom in England



Part of the picture of high attaining children is the image of good relationships with supportive parents (Figure 3.1); thus, teachers value relationships with parents and in turn unconsciously award capital to those families who reciprocate by supporting and motivating their children to work hard and succeed. Alongside high attainment, teachers also value appropriate classroom behaviour which indicates good understanding of the classroom ethos (the rules of the field). Those pupils and families which manage to reflect a teachers' expectations most closely are described by Grenfell and James as sharing 'elective affinities'(1998): in brief, where children and their families can mirror the unconscious expectations of their teachers' beliefs about education, they have the potential to do well.

Social Capital: Migration and Teachers' Response to 'Difference'

The following paragraphs explore just how complex this mirrored relationship is potentially, and how it rests on teachers' responses to difference. The minimisation of difference is a common theme identified by research when exploring how teachers respond to 'otherness' in their children from ethnic minority families (Bennett, 1998; Goodwin, 2002; Hoffman, 1996; Mahon, 2006). This minimisation is characterised by an attempt to find similarity rather than embracing the possibility of diversity and among teachers might be done for the best of reasons. For example, studies among teachers in the US have found that practitioners are loath to recognise difference overtly for fear that this acknowledgment is of itself a form of discrimination (Hoffman, 1996; Mahon, 2006). Furthermore, teachers have been observed adopting a 'colour-blind' approach on the assumption that this is somehow fairer (Goodwin, 2002). Thus, teachers' perceived unwillingness to embrace diversity in any detail is perhaps born of a habitus that believes 'seeing only the mind and heart of a child is best practice' (Mahon, 2006).

Where individuals have some knowledge of different cultures, they are more likely to be able to adopt an ethno-relative, rather than ethno-centric, approach to their relationships with people unlike themselves (Hammer, Bennett, & Wiseman, 2003). The less experienced teachers are with responding to difference, the less likely they are to engage critically with their pupils' backgrounds (Hoffman, 1996) and thus allow some transformation of their own habitus. Mahon (2006) argues that this lack of acknowledgement of difference, this comfort with a white western world view, is the privilege of those who have the power to marginalise. Where English teachers

are the holders of considerable social and cultural capital in the classroom, based on their ethnicity and the unacknowledged riches associated with being English speaking (Bourdieu, 1991), it is possible that this comparative wealth may render them less likely to question their own responses to migrant families' children and more likely to see similarity than difference.

The relationship between pupil ethnicity and teacher expectation is well documented. There are several studies from the UK clearly demonstrating a mismatch between teachers' beliefs and ethnic minority pupils' attainment potential (Gilborn & Mirza, 2000; Pearce, 2003) that suggest a powerful link between a largely white profession and an under-achieving non-white pupil population. In Strand's longitudinal study (Strand, 2007) he acknowledges a range of variables impacting on ethnic minority pupil attainment; among these are poverty, and peer and family aspiration as well as teacher expectation. Thus it is perhaps problematic to assert that teacher expectation is necessarily the sole cause of lower or higher attainment in ethnic minority pupils; the picture is more complex than this. Furthermore, what is not clearly recorded, with the exception of some reports on Polish children in London schools (Sales, Ryan, Rodriguez, & Alessio, 2008), is teacher response to the grouping known as 'white other' in which Polish children are a significant percentage in many areas of the UK.

Kitching's study in an Irish secondary school suggests that racialised construction of pupils' classroom identities is formed on lines that closely map to schools' and teachers' existing beliefs about identity (Kitching, 2011): he suggests that when faced with both Black and Eastern European new migrant pupils, teachers are most likely to look for an image of the 'desirable learner' and respond favourably when they 'see' this. Thus, although it is not necessarily meaningful to match, to these white 'new arrivals', findings from studies of teachers' responses to difference, there is an emerging data set that suggests teachers look for generalised images of what they would like to see in their pupils and that this may play out differently across different nationalities as much as it might do across different ethnicities. These findings echo Grenfell and James' (1998) interpretation of Bourdieusian theory in the classroom by presenting concrete examples of the power of 'elective affinities'.

The Shifting Field and a 'New Migration'

Favell (2008) asserts that the enlargement of the EU since 2004 poses the biggest demographic change in Europe since the end of the second world war because the 'new migrants' have rights to work and to move freely within EU countries as European citizens: this, he suggests, makes comparison with Post-Colonial and US theories of race, migration and ethnicity largely redundant (p.706). This 'new migrant' identity bears particular relevance to education in England because professional discourse and culturally focussed initiatives in the past 15 years have tended to focus around the attainment of Black and Asian pupils who may be identified with Britain's colonial past, or with children of asylum seekers (DfES, 2003a; Tikly, Haynes, Caballero, Hill, & Gillborn, 2006). Apart from guidance related to the teaching of gypsy, Roma and traveller children (DCSF, 2008a) there is no explicit separation by nationality of the group referred to in pupil data collection as 'white other'. Thus the modulation to less obvious 'difference' in the classroom is relatively under reported and unmentioned in professional dialogue in England.

There is a confidence recognised in relation to Polish migrants which fosters the perception that they are part of a different type of migration (Favell, 2008; Garapich, 2008). They have tapped into structures which support the rapid growth of social capital; notably a burgeoning of Polish newspapers, websites and radio stations which have facilitated all aspects of the process of moving to a new country (Garapich, 2008). Polish mothers in the UK also appear to have built considerable social capital through dynamic social networks in their own and their host community (Ryan, et al., 2008, 2009). There is of course an argument that Polish families are allowed access to social and economic capital because of differences in the way that 'new migration' is constructed by the press and national policy (Warren, 2007), but not all research builds such a positive picture of recent Polish migration. Observations have also been made that attitudes to new migrants are no different from those towards previous generations of new arrivals; ignorance about people's home countries, tendency towards negative stereotypes and limited social contact between British people and Eastern Europeans are all recorded as part of the new migrants' experience (Spencer, Rhus, Anderson, & Rogaly, 2007). The media, which on the one hand have played a positive role in building social capital for the new Polish community,

have, in mainstream publications, also fuelled alarmist and erroneous responses focussing on easy accessibility to employment, housing and benefits (Berkley, Khan, & Ambikaipaker, 2006; Gaine, 2007; Spencer, et al., 2007).

It is useful at this point to explore some of the historical context which has led to the recent migration from Poland because this allows some insight into the reasons for Polish families seeking work and life in England; a life that will include sending their children to English primary schools. Following the advent of democratisation in 1989 Poland was seen as something of a trendsetter in Eastern Europe and the model for a positive force for change in aspiration to become more like Western Europe (Onis, 2004). The desire to become more European was supported both civilly and by government, creating a relatively homogeneous view of the advantages of EU membership. Conversely, Russia became part of a negative discourse following rejection of a soviet-influenced past (Zarycki, 2004). The preference for a European over a Russian-satellite identity will have supported the development of some relative values around language and lifestyle: in brief, economic capital is associated with use of English which is in turn seen as a passport to better living standards. The wish to assimilate European norms will have facilitated Polish migrants' relationships with their new countries' communities as they aspired to become part of 'something better' (Onis, 2004). Their desire to integrate will have been a strong driver for the formation of bridging capital (Puttnam, 2007) which unites new with host communities where conditions are favourable. Furthermore, this combined with their confidence in their new Polish identity will have generated good national relationships with their host countries (Vertovec, 2007a).

Warren warns us that drawing distinctions between old and new migration is not only unhelpful, but has made the situation in schools worse: he considers that it encourages differential responses to different communities of ethnic minority pupils and discourse that defines 'good' and 'bad' types of migration (2007, p. 372). Conversely, there is a view that *not* acknowledging this difference is also obstructive because it encourages a minimisation of difference when a detailed understanding of the characters of different communities, their reasons for being here and their differing affiliations to host communities, would support a more tailored response to need (Vertovec, 2007b). In Vertovec's view the super-diversity of Britain is something that

surpasses older narrative around a ‘multicultural society’ and we risk failing to acknowledge that community differences go well beyond the historical discourse attached to ethnicity (2010, p. 93).

Linguistic Capital in the Classroom

If cultural and social capital rested only on nationality, then the commentary thus far might postulate that there is much to feel positive about in the potential for good social relations between the children of post-2004 Polish migrant parents and their teachers because the opportunities for formation of bridging capital are high. However, the importance of proficiency in English to migrants’ employment prospects, and to children’s academic success, cannot be over-estimated (Bennett, 1998; Goodwin, 2002; Nusche, 2009; Spencer, et al., 2007; Strand, 2007). Language is central to cultural difference because it is through language that individuals communicate and also through language that we formulate and conceptualise our realities (Bennett, 1998). Thus, pupils in schools where they are not speakers of the dominant language are potentially at a disadvantage both linguistically *and* culturally. If English is the medium for interaction with teachers and peers then proficiency in it is *the* major determiner of successful educational outcomes (Nusche, 2009).

The apparently pivotal role of speaking, reading and writing in English as a learning medium promotes a range of responses to English as a language among teachers and pupils in English Primary Schools. We might describe these responses as resting on teachers’ and children’s varying ownership of linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991). As argued in previous chapters, language and literacy teaching in classrooms is divisible into strands of experience and subject knowledge which themselves form the building blocks of any one agent’s sense of capital wealth and their doxa relating to classroom practice. Comparative levels of wealth in English – as a teacher or a pupil in spoken or taught situations – have the potential to influence relationships between teacher and pupil, teacher and parent, pupil and pupil. Children may feel exhausted by the sheer effort of trying to listen and communicate in English (Goodwin, 2002), and teachers may be unaware that learning English is more than an instructional issue (p. 166).

Linguistic capital has several manifestations in English classrooms some of which are best defined in terms of teachers’ repertoires of skills or as sets of subject knowledge (see Figure 2.1

in chapter 2). Capital can be identified in terms of knowledge about language as well as understanding the language practices of the culture or group (Christian & Bloome, 2004, p. 369). Ownership of potential areas of linguistic capital may govern responses of teachers and children; for example, the reception by teachers of children who do not have English as their first language. Spoken, read and written English are delivered through a curriculum framework that assumes fluency in English and it is within the teacher's gift to develop children's skills of literacy in English (Luke, 2008). Thus, success academically in English classrooms equates to success with spoken and written English; success means achievement in the dominant language (Bourdieu, 1991; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). It is useful at this point to consider language development in spoken English in terms of capital gains and losses.

Bourdieu found fault with the view of linguists like Saussure and Chomsky, who put forward an image of language as coming from a store to which we all have equal access (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 43). Rather, he surmised, nations create a dominant form of language which transcends accent and dialect and which is potentially capable of unifying citizens from a range of linguistic backgrounds; in reality, however, it more commonly divides citizens into those who know the rules and those who do not (Luke, 2008). Inherent in this establishment of a dominant form of the language is an understanding that it becomes the one against which all other forms of language are measured (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 45). Thus, by default, those who are able to understand and use the dominant form of the language are able to gain access to employment and other aspects of the social and economic market place by virtue of their ownership of linguistic capital (Goldstein, 2008). Education is a key player in 'construction, legitimation and imposition of an official language' (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 47) and therefore something of a broker in terms of facilitating or inhibiting the flow of linguistic capital between teachers and children.

Teachers may be complicit in sustaining the power-base of a standardised form a language; they are, perhaps unconsciously, co-creators of a code of practice for the legitimate language (Bourdieu, 1991, p.161). This is encouraged by the specific inclusion of the requirement for teachers to promote Standard English in The National Curriculum (DfES, 2001). It is true to say that the acceptance of Standard English as a norm for teaching is not without its critics (Labov, 1969; Widdowson, 1993; Wiley & Lukes, 1996), but the symbolic capital associated with reports

such as those by Kingman (1988) and Cox (1989) has influenced assumptions that English schools will promote Standard English in a way that is now part of the assumed habitus of education. This has significant potential, albeit unintended, for supporting a deficit view of models of English other than a culturally dominant form. Furthermore, it makes teachers' potential to grant children literacy in English (Luke, 2008) something which puts them in positions of considerable power.

Bourdieu identified teachers' role in perpetuating standardised language by drawing attention to the process of error correction that goes on commonly between teachers and pupil in dialogue (Bourdieu, 1991). Labov spoke critically of this tendency because it is based on assumptions that because the teacher speaks the standardised form, and that the child must acquire this standard, it is "sufficient for the teacher to correct any departures from the model as they occur" (Labov, 1969, p.6). Rather, he proposed, teachers should start with an understanding of pupils' vernacular instead of rejecting it out of hand as without value. Similarly, teachers receiving new arrivals in their classroom with no spoken English need to be encouraged to see them firstly as linguistically competent in their own language rather than only linguistically *in*competent in English.

It might be the case that the most powerful factor influencing the way in which teachers perceive children's use of English as their single most important achievement is that teachers in English classrooms are fluent in a language that dominates not only nationally but globally (Crystal, 2003). In terms of linguistic capital the place of English as a 'global language' is particularly interesting: Crystal notes that both Spanish and Chinese are spoken by more people, and, in the case of Spanish, in more territories (p.4). Yet English holds a place in international perception that makes it globally the most powerful language; it is the preferred medium for communication across governments and in what are perceived as the world's most developed economies (Crystal, 2003). In Bourdieusian terms this makes it the most valuable commodity in any market place; for example, in the classroom. In terms of linguistic capital, the development of a lingua franca that has become the preferred medium for academic and business discourse (Bourdieu, 1990b) means that the symbolic capital held by English is literally priceless. One might wonder at how far any native English speaking educational practitioner is aware of the

very particular nature of this power game; for example, the findings of Cameron et al (1996) relating to teachers' lack of awareness of their L2 learners' needs to have pragmatic classroom discourse made explicit is just one incidence of where assumed belief has become a barrier to progress in children who have limited linguistic capital.

The problem with the classroom being the conduit for promotion of the dominant language is that children's lack of spoken English may lead not only to negative assumptions about linguistic capability but also to deficit discourse around cultural and ethnic difference. Moreover it may lead to assumptions about cognitive deficiencies where language competence is assumed to correlate with intelligence (Wells Lindfors, 1987). This is not only potentially the case for children whose home language is not English, but it has also been identified as an issue for English working class children (Gregory, et al., 2004). In Gregory et al's study, teachers in schools of low social-economic intake were shown to have low expectations of children's use of English which was reflected in their pedagogical choices for teaching English in the classroom.

Thus, the superior possession of linguistic capital by the teacher affects and may control the educational outcomes of children whose home languages do not conform to the norm, whether that be because of class or ethnicity/nationality. The classroom has a linguistic 'sense of place' in which those lacking capital may be constrained, possibly silenced, by specific expectations of discourse (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 82). Luke, using a Bourdieusian interpretation of the pedagogy for literacy, proffers that reading and writing are gifts given by teachers to prospective literates (Luke, 2008, p. 71). Through this metaphor he likens teaching and learning to a commodity exchange which entails unspoken rules relating to obligation and responsibility. The teacher might see it as their role to modify and impose expectations of a code that will allow access to 'appropriate' forms of spoken English and standardised forms of written English. Teacher subject knowledge is a form of linguistic and professional capital but it is perhaps better described in terms of its partnership with habitus and field; this partnership would include assumptions about the status of the English language both locally and globally, and unquestioned assumptions about the wisdom of teaching according to one set of received guidance that maps out pedagogy for literacy.

Assumptions about the place of Standard written and spoken English as an aspiration in terms of linguistic capital may be confounded by variations in teachers' own subject knowledge for English teaching and their own use of English. It might be considered a 'given' that teachers know a lot about how children develop as language users and about the structure of their own language, but this is not necessarily the case (Earl, et al., 2003; Wong Fillmore & Snow, 2000). Concerns about lack of teacher subject knowledge for teaching both reading and writing are evident in both professional commentary and in empirical research (Dombey, 2003; Hardman, et al., 2003; OfSTED, 2009; Topping & Ferguson, 2005). This lack of subject knowledge can relate to both pedagogical knowledge and to knowledge about language as defined by Kingman (1988).

Reasons for teachers' lack of or limited confidence in subject knowledge have been alluded to in other parts of this literature review. For example, in considering first language acquisition it was acknowledged that learners' understanding of their first language is often implicit; grammatical and syntactic understanding evolve over time and largely without formal instruction. Thus, teachers may have little awareness of how their own language is structured, particularly if they have not learned another language, and so find the process of supporting a new arrival learning English a confusing and undermining process. Furthermore, if teachers feel that they have a limited control over curriculum content, their sense of capital is diminished considerably in the face of a non-English speaker whose needs do not fit the requirements of a prescribed curriculum which is assessed only in English. Finally, this same controlled curriculum assumes a specific pedagogical mind-set that may be at odds with provision for second language learners. At this point, children's linguistic capital is earned or lost in affiliation with the teacher's habitus and chosen response to the rules of the field.

Several existing studies exemplify this relationship; the relationship that lies between what is valued culturally, linguistically and socially, and the impact of specific pedagogy and prescribed curriculum outcomes. A study in a US classroom (Christian & Bloome, 2004) demonstrated how responses of teachers and English speaking children to young children learning English as an additional language are symbolised by power relations with their roots in ownership of linguistic and cultural capital. In this instance an observation of a group of mixed L1 and L2 learners taking part in a shared drawing activity, related to a story, revealed several ways in

which children's L2 status reduced their opportunities for both linguistic development and positive teacher feedback. The English speaking children dominated the crayons, the best positions for drawing comfortably and the discourse determining what would be drawn; thus the second language learners were marginalised both physically and linguistically from discussion or control of the picture. Furthermore, the teacher had allocated one of the English speaking children as 'keeper of the crayons' because of her recognised skills in reading. Thus, both pupil and teacher behaviour promoted an environment in which success was made more difficult for the children who already lacked linguistic capital. Success in reading in English was rewarded with the right to control, thus seriously reducing the opportunities for success of those children lacking the right bargaining chip - literacy in English.

As children grow older the process of marginalisation may become even more complex, as observed in a study by Goldstein of Hong Kong born children operating in Cantonese and English in a US high school (Goldstein, 2008). Parents and teachers in this school were of the opinion that children should be taught chiefly or even only in English because of their association of English with linguistic, economic and social privileges; thus, although teachers considered it acceptable for pupils to use Cantonese *outside* the classroom, there was a view that English should be the only medium of instruction *inside* the classroom.

This was problematic for the pupils who needed to converse in Cantonese with their peers for several reasons. Firstly, communication in their home language allowed them to build up friendships and social capital through peer acceptance that is crucial to adolescents. Secondly, it gave them access to the curriculum because they could think aloud in Cantonese and ask for help from peers. However, use of Cantonese with peers did not allow them to practice English and so this in turn potentially inhibited their chances of academic success. This resulted in pupils' use of 'attentive silence' in the classroom. By remaining silent they did not have to lose face to their teacher by being unable to answer in English, nor to their friends for using English and not Cantonese. The complexity in this classroom analysis is multi-layered and indicates just how demanding the experience of learning in two languages can be for pupils when complicated by teachers' view of the importance of English and teaching practice associated with this. It also illustrates the inter-relationship of social with linguistic capital and the effect of each on the

development of cultural capital. Whether and why teachers encourage use of home language in the classroom is raised in the analysis later in this project.

Another American study (Christ & Wang, 2008) explored the ways in which young ethnic minority pupils were able, or otherwise, to grasp the procedural practices inherent in classroom literacy practices depended on their differences in cultural capital and habitus. As in both the previous studies issues of teacher assumption about children's home literacy and cultural experiences affected the children's capacity to make progress, as did the children's own understanding of how to access culturally embedded literacy practices within the classroom. Their conclusions, however, held more potential for optimism than those observed in the earlier projects. They found that when young second language learners were engaged in child-led group activities they had more likelihood of becoming engaged in their learning and, thus, of making progress in their use of spoken and written English. The success of the child-led groups was grounded in the willingness of the children who spoke English as their home language to scaffold and model the use of language necessary for their friends to succeed in literacy tasks; they made explicit what for ethnic minority pupils can be something of a 'hidden' curriculum. In other words, they assimilated their capital-poor peers into the group habitus (Bourdieu, 1990a) and in so doing allowed them access to reserves of linguistic capital.

The optimism of Christ and Wang's study sits in interesting contrast to the bleaker pictures painted by Goldstein and by Christian and Bloome. Christ and Wang had set out to explore the potential for success in a particular pedagogical approach – that of a small, child-led literacy group - while other research focuses on how teachers fail to recognise where their pedagogical choices do not support their second language learners. This pessimism supports a deficit view of teachers as unthinking in their approach to individual need and unaware of control by the prescribed pedagogies within which they operate. It also suggests that changes to pedagogy are not necessarily something that teachers might entertain. Furthermore it raises issues of school ethos and willingness to accommodate 'difference'. Little is said about the education context in Christ and Wang's study, but it might be assumed that it was a school with high aspirations for its pupils regardless of their economic or linguistic background.

A negative view is, of itself, perhaps a product of the use of Bourdieusian analysis. Critics of ‘misuse’ of the Bourdieusian framework point to a self-interested interpretation of the concepts of habitus and capital which can result in a deterministic view of education (Reay, 2004).

Bourdieu would argue that his concepts of habitus and capital can be the subject of change and adaptation, and that assumptions about the determinism inherent in using a Bourdieusian framework for analysis are flawed (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Thus, although teachers may be observed as unquestioning in their determination to encourage conformity to a specific linguistic habitus, this is not to say that professionals are not also capable of change where change is perceived as desirable in order to nurture children’s personal stores of linguistic capital.

Studies in the UK can incline to this somewhat depressing view of cultural and linguistic expectation being engrained in teacher habitus: whether it is related to their view of second language learners as lacking linguistic capital (Parke & Drury, 2001; Robertson, 2002) or to the unwillingness of teachers to value popular culture as a relevant part of the literacy curriculum (Marsh, 2006). This suggests that research itself can be the seat of unrest where conflict exists between what is required and what is delivered in the classroom; our views as researchers, and the play of our own habitus in analysing what we observe, can determine how we allocate linguistic capital to the various players involved in our observations. Indeed, in my own work I have been critical of the problems inherent in a prescribed curriculum for English (Flynn, 2007b) while celebrating the success that can be attributed to teachers who subvert prescription in order to accommodate the needs of second language learners (Flynn, 2007a). The layers of tension expressed in this last paragraph will be significant in later discussion.

Summary:

To conclude, linguistic capital is present in the classroom in many guises, often in partnership with social capital for the children and as a form of professional capital for the teachers. How teachers use their own linguistic capital to support or inhibit the generation of pupils’ linguistic capital will depend on: their own awareness and understanding of the structure of the English language; their acknowledgment of their own assumptions about the dominance of English as a

language locally and globally; their understanding of how children best develop literacy; their interpretation of current curriculum guidance and the extent to which it is appropriate for second language learners; their awareness of the extent to which they have unconsciously inhabited a field where the rules for use of English and the teaching of English have become so entwined that the values and assumptions associated with each are impossible to dissociate.

SECTION 2 : The Methodology and the Method in Practice

Chapter 4: The Methodology

This chapter presents arguments for the choice of the research paradigm and the research approach in this project. It explores the nature of qualitative research, of interpretive enquiry, and the use of interview as a research instrument. Consideration is given to the choice of virtue ethics for structuring the respectful response of the researcher to research participants. There is discussion of the use of constructivist grounded theory in data analysis. Finally, Bourdieu's theory as method is introduced as both the philosophical framework which provides coherence between the approach and the research process, and the lens through which data were analysed.

The Qualitative Paradigm

The research for this project was situated in a qualitative paradigm of interpretivist enquiry using interview as the sole method of data collection. The interpretive stance was supported methodologically with the use of a constructivist grounded theory approach to coding the interviews both during and after data collection. With research aims relating specifically to the experiences and understandings of a professional group – in this case teachers - this choice allowed for reconstruction of meaning that was potentially 'more informed and sophisticated' (Guba & Lincoln, 2000,p.210) than might have grown from a quantitative or experimental approach. Clearly such assertions about the research need some further explanation.

A qualitative paradigm was not necessarily an obvious choice for exploring teachers' pedagogy for newly arrived second language learners. In recent years educational research has suffered from a perception that it does not give politicians what they want to hear; this being quantitative evidence that particular techniques raise standards (Whitty, 2006). The apparent conflict between the nature of qualitative research and the requirements of Government to show quantitative outcomes resulting from policy has not necessarily made for a comfortable partnership between educationalists and politicians (p.160). Critics of the tendency for publicly funded research to find favour only if set within a 'what works' discourse claim that this has narrowed what counts as 'worthwhile' in education research (Oancea & Pring, 2008). Nevertheless, it would not have been unreasonable, for example, to use quantitative measures in order to explore how teacher pedagogy impacted on educational outcomes for second language learners; such measures

would, however, have supported a wholly different research aim that related more to pupil attainment than to teachers' experiences and attitudes.

Historically qualitative enquiry has not necessarily been respected as yielding 'valid' data, but there are those who would take issue with the idea that reliability and validity can be judged flawless in more positivist research designs (Seale, 1999). In searching for a more pragmatic stance, 'fitness for purpose' is supported as the driving force in methodology by those researchers who see polarised debate between the quantitative and qualitative paradigms as unhelpful. Clough and Nutbrown (2007) consider that viewing research methodology as a choice between competing paradigms is ultimately spurious (p.16). It is not so much a case of deciding which paradigm to work in but more a case of developing a research design which best serves the investigation of the questions posed through that particular research (p.20). Silverman (2001) concurs with this view when observing that the flexibility of qualitative research might be seen as a strength if set against a fixed view of quantitative approaches; but on the other hand flexibility might be interpreted as lacking structure and rigour. Thus, a single interpretation of either paradigm is not necessarily beneficial (p.22).

If quantitative researchers are not to be awarded the status of holders of 'the golden key' to truth (Silverman, 2001, p.176) then qualitative researchers must take care to ensure that their research is sustained by the same expectations of rigour and criticality most commonly upheld as the strength of data that generates measurable outputs. This is a complex task because qualitative research, particularly that defined as constructivist, is a broad church of methodologies (Schwandt, 2001) that might define 'rigour' in different ways depending on the epistemological stance of the researcher and their consequent choice of method.

Scheurich (1997) asserts that research terms such as 'data' and 'reality' draw their meanings from the paradigms in which they are used; thus the truth of the story being told rests on the interpretation of truth that is put forward by the researcher and the researched. Moreover he surmises that epistemology is not so much a simple view of truth in any particular field, but it is something that takes account of the history, politics and sociological positioning of the researcher. For this reason, he explains that a researcher's ontological (what the researcher

‘sees’) and epistemological (what the researcher ‘knows’) positions are so entwined as to make their separate consideration artificial (p.50). Indeed, his position is one that argues there is little difference between paradigms because research is ultimately something which rests on ‘relatively autonomous individual subjectivity’ (p.6); the significance of this view of the researcher is pursued in the later section on Bourdieu’s theory as method.

Whereas quantitative research methods rest often on ‘recognised’ measures and, seemingly by default, are perceived as rigorous, the task of the qualitative researcher is not just to construct a method of data collection but to ensure that this design is explicitly related to the researcher’s own stance. Selecting and clarifying an epistemological position (Koro-Ljunberg, Yendol-Hoppey, Smith, & Hayes, 2009) can potentially assist conceptualisation of the research questions (p.693) and make all aspects of the research process visible to audiences (p.687). “The constructivist chooses to take a subjectivist position” (Guba, 1990,p.26) because s/he assumes that objectivity is largely a redundant construct in research. If the researcher is explicit in how their stance affects their choices, then subjectivity is perhaps a more honest researcher identity from which to make meaning when identifying human experiences. The wisdom or otherwise of defining objectivity and subjectivity as separate is pursued in the later section on interpretivism. Thus, Silverman’s call for rigour in qualitative research and Scheurich’s view that such research can reflect multiple truths and realities are served well if we stop briefly to consider this researcher’s epistemological stance.

Perhaps unique to education as a research field is the fact that, of itself, it deals with knowledge; “knowledge is both the subject and the object of the enterprise”(Radnor, 2002, p.3). Thus, assumptions about the nature of knowledge in education are potentially manifold. In this project the core aim was to explore how primary school teachers responded to the arrival of Polish children into classrooms not previously associated with linguistic or national difference. Such an aim was clearly resting on assumptions relating to meanings and understandings in the world of primary education and reflecting my own theoretical stance and life experiences. An aim to explore how attitudes and experiences towards a particular group of children might play out over time assumes that teachers’ professional development is in some way related to their pupils, and that the arrival of children from an unfamiliar background might present the researcher and the

subjects with something interesting to talk about. Furthermore, the aim assumes that teachers have a specific stance on the teaching of English to monolingual children that may or may not transfer to newly arrived bilinguals. This supposition grew from my own experiences in the classroom in both urban and rural settings, and is thus an explicit reflection of my own conjecture about what is known and what might be known in the field of primary education.

Epistemologically, researching teachers' practice was particularly complex because, as discussed in chapter 2, teacher subject knowledge is not easily defined. This means that the assumptions about the framework of knowledge in this research needed to be relatively fluid and the researcher needed to attempt some freedom from prior understandings of what teacher subject knowledge was, in order to interpret teachers' knowledge in the multi-layered ways it is captured in the research on teachers' beliefs and understanding (Clandinin, 1985; Elbaz, 1981; Fenstermacher, 1994; Pajares, 1992). Furthermore, interpretation of knowledge and understanding had to take account of the ways in which teachers' practice had assimilated policy over time (Moore, 2004) and the possible effect of this on blurring the lines between beliefs and subject knowledge.

Having considered an epistemological position, my choice of a qualitative methodology also required some consideration of how to generate meaningful 'truths' from the field of enquiry. Guba and Lincoln assert that qualitative enquiry reflects a postmodern approach to research which demands 'trustworthiness' and 'authenticity' (Guba & Lincoln, 2000) if the data are to withstand scrutiny for their identity as 'evidence'. They consider that the problem with a positivist stance is that it strips data of their context; in the search for reliability a single focus may ignore the influence of a range of variables. Human behaviour, they argue, "cannot be understood without reference to the meaning and purposes attached to human actors by their activities." (p.197). In researching human behaviour the qualitative researcher might adopt a constructivist approach precisely because of this; in other words, if human behaviour cannot be stripped of context then meanings can only be constructed by taking account of the context displayed through language and social interaction (Schwandt, 2000).

This commentary has alluded to terms such as *validity* and *reliability* which necessitate some further discussion as constructs related to rigour in any research paradigm. Validity and reliability are themselves terms set within a research framework which must assume *quality*; the research must first be deemed of quality before the validity or otherwise of its data can be worthy of consideration. The tension between qualitative methods and government educational policy as identified at the beginning of this section is increased by the existence of a perceived hierarchy in research that affects funding potential. In their discussion of quality in education research published prior to the RAE 2008, Furlong and Oancea (2005) called for a reconsideration of quality in educational research that takes account of the often applied or practice-based research that serves several interest groups. They argue that *quality* can be attributed in several ways in educational research; the way in which it provides its users with facts and ideas relating to education, and the way in which it can of itself support professional growth among both practitioners and policy makers.

Furlong and Oancea continue by postulating that *quality* and *trustworthiness* mutually constitute, but that trustworthiness is defined differently in different paradigms. What matters ultimately, they suggest, is that there should be a clear relation between the research process and its representation of the world (p.12). Thus, the match of design and methodology must be matched closely to the epistemological and ontological stance of the researcher, and appropriately to the nature of the enquiry, in order that its outputs can be considered trustworthy.

This match of design to both intended output and research field has also traditionally been the process by which validity can be established in qualitative research (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Such a definition of validity in qualitative research has been called into question (Cho & Trent, 2006). Cho and Trent argue that Creswell and Miller's definition is problematic because it argues for validity in too narrow terms, when in fact the construct of validity within educational research will vary according to the researcher's choice of method; this, they say, should allow for a flexible definition of validity that must resist efforts to channel qualitative research into the more easily definable aims of quantitative measures (p.335). Taking issue still further with the idea that validity can be pigeonholed in qualitative data is Denzin (2009) who warns of the 'elephant in the living room' that is the demand for evidence-based models in research. How a

particular approach to qualitative research can resist a positivist evidence-based model but retain validity and trustworthiness is considered in the following section.

The Interpretivist Approach

The choice of an interpretivist approach was situated in an understanding that we are our histories (Radnor, 2002; Schwandt, 2000). Such a stance is closely matched to Bourdieusian views of the human condition explored in the literature review and in a later section of this chapter, and which form the philosophical framework through which interpretation was filtered. For teachers of English in English primary schools, attention to historical context in the years 2007 – 9 was particularly pertinent because it followed a long period of educational reform that had impacted profoundly on classroom practice (see Chapter 1). Furthermore, these years were predated very precisely by the accession to the EU in 2004 of several Eastern European states whose citizens chose immigration to the UK in search of perceived wealth and opportunity (Onis, 2004).

Thus, this research sought to interpret attitudes and experiences to both the teaching of English and to the teaching of English specifically to children who did not have English as their first language. It set out to tell the story of rural teachers who are not usually represented by research – research in this field focuses more commonly on inner city teachers - and thus enrich the professions' understandings of how classroom experiences play out differently in different contexts. Whilst research cannot of itself assume to influence policy and practice, the hopes of the researcher are probably necessarily politically (Clough & Nutbrown, 2007; Denzin, Lincoln, & Giardina, 2006) and morally (Denzin, et al., 2006) ambitious if the research is to be considered worth doing ; it was certainly within the thinking underpinning this project, that the aims were broadly political.

Interpretivist enquiry assumes that what we imagine is knowledge and truth is not an objective reality but is the result of our perceptions. Furthermore the interpretivist researcher sees a duality between objectivity and subjectivity that means the one is partnered by the other, and that the two are not necessarily separable as ways of either seeing or interpreting (Schwandt, 2000). Interpretivist enquiry is essentially hermeneutic in its search for new meanings within the

familiar; hermeneutic in that it looks into those things that are taken for granted and attempts to ask questions about them (Radnor, 2002,p.13). Such enquiry is characterised by ‘rich, thick’ descriptions which grow from the construction of meaning from dialogue commonly associated with interview (Guba & Lincoln, 2000).

Green (2010) draws on the wealth of work by Lincoln, and Guba and Lincoln, in defining interpretivism and she sees its perspective on the role of social science in the world as likened to *storytelling* (p.63). In searching for an argument for validity in qualitative enquiry, such a description might be considered problematic in that it suggests the generation of fiction rather than truth. However, Green’s view of the researcher as story teller is a useful way of making explicit the need for interpretive enquirers to acknowledge that they seek not truth but a reality as it is seen by both themselves and by their subjects. As she puts it "Interpretivist knowledge inevitably reflects the values of the inquirer, even as it seeks to reconstruct others' sense of meaning and supporting beliefs." (p.71). Thus, interpretivist enquiry must actively take account of the social, cultural and historical context of both the researcher and the researched. Moreover it must acknowledge that interpretivist analysis is value-laden and ideographic; time and place bound (p.68). Green’s view echoes that of Scheurich’s (1997) acceptance of the ‘autonomous researcher’ as the foundation stone for interpretation; their overarching conviction is that the world of research must concede the inevitably subjective nature of research and that this concession of itself affords validity to interpretive enquiry.

Ethical considerations in qualitative research

"Being ethical means being open to other people, acting for the sake of their good, trying to see others as they are, rather than imposing one's own ideas and biases on them."

(Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005,p.161)

If research in a qualitative-interpretivist paradigm acknowledges the place of the researcher in its epistemological framework, then ethical considerations are potentially problematic unless explicitly explored in a way that takes account of both the participant’s and the researcher’s world view. A key issue for the interpretive researcher is that their stance for interpretation of the data has the potential, some might argue inevitably, to reflect a personal and subjective reality

rather than that of the subject of research. In terms of interview, the sole method of data collection for this research, ethical considerations are particularly complex because interview by its nature ‘probes human existence in detail’ (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005, p157). An undertaking to seek to present human behaviours and thinking honestly, fairly and truthfully is thus ‘saturated with moral and ethical issues’(ibid). The work of Brinkmann and Kvale has had a particular influence on the thinking for this project because of their combined interest in interview as a method of data collection and a particular view regarding ethical choices relating to the use of narrative in research.

In the first instance the researcher needs to make clear their particular ethical stance in order that the choices made in conducting the research are seen to rest within a particular belief system relating to human relationships. In this project the research was informed chiefly by Aristotelian virtue ethics (Aristotle, 1976). Virtue ethics of themselves demand considerably more discussion than can be presented within this thesis, but their close relationship to the interpretivist turn, and to a Bourdieusian world view, made them a fitting choice. Virtue ethics can be defined as an approach to ethics based on being rather than doing (Mcfarlane, 2010, p.23). Rather than resting ethical choices on external imposed codes of behaviour, this approach requires that the researcher responds with courage, respectfulness, resoluteness and sincerity when dealing with their research participants (p.26).

Aristotle’s view was that such virtues of themselves become refined by the processes involved in experiences over time; ‘we are constituted by nature to receive them, but their full development in us is due to habit’ (Aristotle, 1976, p.31). Such habits might be likened to the Bourdieusian view of habitus as constituting relations between researcher and participants. Virtue ethicists start from the premise that the world is value laden; that morals and values are already part of our world (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005, p.176). Thus, the match between interpretivism, Bourdieu and virtue ethics might be mapped in the following way: we are our histories and such histories dictate our response to each other and the moral choices we make in forming our research relationships.

For Aristotle, the practical wisdom – *phronesis* - governing our moral choices is the most important of the intellectual virtues, ‘the most finished form of knowledge’ (Aristotle, 1976, p.152). This practical wisdom serves to ‘make us good’, rather than providing an ‘abstract theory of the good’ (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005, p.158) such as that provided by the coding of ethics into a set of principles. This is not to say that this research did not adhere to an ethical code relating to education research (BERA, 2004) but that there was no assumption that the practical application of BERA’s code, through for example the signing of research contracts, could of itself protect participants or ensure honesty in the representation of the data. In summary, virtue ethics require that, in their dealings with others, humans draw on what is arguably a natural human inclination to ‘do the right thing’ (Keen, 2000; 2009, p. 29).

Although external ethical principles alone are not sufficient to create ethically responsible researchers (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005, p.178) they do however provide a benchmark for ethical practice that embody core assumptions relating to virtuous behaviours (Pring, 2002, p.113). Such core assumptions themselves rest on perhaps unconscious habits and assimilated beliefs in the Bourdieusian sense of practical logic (Bourdieu, 1990a, p.101) and they dictate creation of guidelines which do not necessarily bear relation to a reflexive response to research as favoured by the interpretivist. However, they at least raise in the consciousness of the researcher their ethical responsibilities towards their participants (p.111) and as such present educational research with a valuable starting point for consideration of the researcher-subject relationship. This starting point includes crucially the need for voluntary informed consent from participants and gatekeepers; the need for privacy, anonymity and confidentiality; the right for the participant to withdraw from the process at any time; the right for the participant to have access to the data collected and the need for researchers to protect vulnerable participants (BERA, 2004).

BERA’s ethical code for educational researchers details how individuals might practically take account of the list above, but, in keeping with interpretive enquiry, it does not assume that the code can be taken at face value and the authors freely acknowledge the problematic and complex nature of social sciences research in schools and classrooms. In their preamble they exhort the reader to use the guidelines as a framework within which to weigh up how to act responsibly (p.4). Furthermore, they encourage the researcher to problematize their work in acknowledgment

of the likelihood that working with human subjects can never be without complexities. If the researcher as virtue ethicist is to respond responsibly to participants, then consideration of some of the potential problems posed by the guidelines is pivotal to supporting good moral choices.

The area of voluntary informed consent is raised frequently as problematic in research literature relating to education. Homan, for example, considers that educational researchers working with children can risk misusing informed consent because consent is granted by a gatekeeper – often the Headteacher – who is both powerful and the powerbroker in the relationship (Homan, 2002, p.23). For Bourdieu this would represent a form of disguised symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1990a, p.128) that may exist in any hierarchical organisation. Although research for this project did not involve children, it was still the case that the Headteachers as gatekeepers of access to their staff could have influenced the response of participants to their interviews; whether consent was given voluntarily or not was possibly compromised by the need for the researcher to operate within the expected norms of the institution. Teachers in any school setting may not necessarily be in a position to decline participation in a research project and the interpretive enquirer needs to be sensitive to the ways in which routes to access can affect the data collected (Miller & Bell, 2002p.56).

Issues around researchers' interpretations of 'voluntary' consent are further complicated by the notion that consent should be 'informed'. Within an interpretivist paradigm, where the researcher acts as storyteller, it is not possible for a participant, or indeed the researcher, to know what the outcomes of data collection might reveal (Howe & Moses, 1999). Interpretive enquiry is by its nature open-ended, meaning that the researcher may discover things they had not anticipated and this limits the protection afforded by a research contract based on ideas at the start of data collection (p.40). Thus, interpretive enquiry may require a more vigilant ethical reflection and monitoring than quantitative research because issues of informed consent are more complex than the signing of an initial contract (ibid). In response to this dilemma Miller and Bell (2002) suggest that the process of consent giving should be on-going and negotiated, particularly in the case of participants whose initial 'consent' has been attained through a more powerful gatekeeper (Miller & Bell, 2002). On-going negotiation of consent also protects participants'

rights to privacy and anonymity because it legislates against the outcomes of the analysed data set unexpectedly breaking confidentiality of their identities.

Apart from the problems associated with open-ended research and its habit of presenting both researcher and participant with unforeseen outcomes, is the issue of the political nature of research and its relationship to informed consent. If all research is by its nature political (Clough & Nutbrown, 2007; Howe & Moses, 1999) then the personal and political perspectives of researchers inform the intentions they have for research (Gillies & Aldred, 2002, p.33). Thus, part of the researcher's responsibility in being open and honest with their subjects is an explicit sharing of that political stance at the beginning of data collection. This is important in educational research in particular because the researcher cannot assume that teachers share or even want to be associated with the political agenda specific to education; this field being of itself managed politically to a considerable extent in the UK (Moore, 2004). Furthermore, exposing the project's political standing clarifies our objectives for the participants and provides justification for any judgements made in interpreting the responses of participants (Gillies & Aldred, 2002, p.49)

Literature surrounding the complexities of ethics in educational research puts forward on the one hand a view that notions of informed consent and rights to privacy are of themselves flawed constructs and that we are better served by focussing on our researcher behaviours (Mcfarlane, 2010), but on the other hand that codes of ethics give researchers a valuable starting point from which to make judgements about the right behaviours associated with their field (BERA, 2004; Pring, 2002). Within the interpretive turn, ethical consideration is complex because interpretive research is intimate; it reduces the distance between researchers and subjects (Howe & Moses, 1999). Intimacy and open-endedness significantly reduce and complicate the research subjects' rights to privacy, making the odds of meeting unforeseen ethical problems higher for the interpretive researcher (Howe & Moses, 1999,p.40). Perhaps what matters in educational research is that researchers acknowledge and embrace their need to go beyond ideals and principles and to 'live research ethics' (Mcfarlane, 2010) in an effort to live the virtues and respond with practical wisdom. What matters is not so much the conduct according to the adopted ethical code, but the care taken with what actually happens in the field (p.23). Further

discussion of how this care might manifest itself is explored in the section on interviews as a research method.

Interpretivism and the Use of Interview

The use of interview as a research tool is a relatively recent development (Gubrium & Holstein, 2003) which might appear to have a self-evident structure whereby “..the interviewer coordinates a conversation aimed at obtaining desired information.” (p.21). However, the interview, whether it be based on structured questioning or seeking an unstructured narrative account from the respondent, is subject to a wide range of implicit variables that the researcher must take explicit account of in choosing both the type of interview to use and the ways in which the resulting discourse is analysed. These choices relate to the composition of questions and decisions about how far the interview might obtain ‘answers’ to questions; the selection of interviewees and the ways in which they are approached for selection; positioning of the researcher and the subject; the post-interview analysis and questions of objectivity and subjectivity in interpretation of the data.

Before taking into consideration any of the above, the researcher also needs to contemplate objections to interview as a technique for gathering data. On the one hand it is a ‘flexible and adaptable way’ of exploring ideas, on the other fears about validity can devalue its perceived potential (Robson, 2001). It could be said for example that naturalistic enquiry such as that supported by interview is only ever going to yield a subjective account of the people or events observed; lack of a scientific basis, bias, subjectivity and invalidity are some of the objections commonly raised against interview as a reliable method of data collection (Kvale, 1994). In his defence of interview, Kvale lists and explores ten standard objections such as those already listed and concludes that such objections are of themselves based on ambiguous concepts. His claim (p.170) that, for example, objectivity and validity are not necessarily the fixed constructs imagined by positivist critics of the interview as a humanistic response to data is of course itself open to debate. However, his discussion usefully raises the question of whether divergent discourse about research methods in terms of their value is meaningful.

Brinkmann and Kvale (2005) raise the issue of what they describe as the often neglected power relations inherent in narrative and unstructured interviews in particular. With language a vessel for power (linguistic capital) of itself (Bourdieu, 1991) the researcher is obligated to consider not just the way in which the interview might be set up, but also whether the dialogue is manipulated in ways that advantage the researcher's preordained expectations of the research. Attention to the micro-ethics of interview research involves how the researcher treats the participants' well-being not just in terms of standard code such as informed consent, but also in how the interview is constructed in time and space. Limerick, Burgess-Limerick and Grace (1996) for example, described how their research included negotiation of venue and timing with their respondents in an attempt to maximise the comfort and convenience of the interviewee and attempt to equalise power-relations within the conversation. Such practical actions do not easily solve the ethical dilemmas surrounding interview, but they are an example of how the researcher who understands 'situational particularities' might best exercise ethical judgement (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005, p.175).

Within an interpretivist paradigm the choice of interview is valuable because it gives the researcher potential for meaning making both during the interview (dialogically) and post interview (analytically). Again, this apparently simple definition is problematic not least because language is value laden (Bourdieu, 1991; Cousin, 2010). The positioning of the researcher and the participant will affect how meaning is constructed dialogically in the conversation, and the life experiences and cultural assumptions of the researcher will influence what she 'sees' when uncovering layers of meaning in isolation. This obvious subjectivity might alone be considered sufficient reason for rejection of interview as a method, but if qualitative researchers are to understand the world from the point of view of their participants they must engage in dialogue which is necessarily exploratory and open to a range of different interpretations.

In order to counter the problems of subjectivity in interview researchers must consider their positioning carefully; this is as much an ethical as a practical consideration. Much is written on raising researcher awareness of the power dynamics in interview, and this is seen to some extent as a path towards seeking validity and uncovering the 'truth' from the respondent's point of view. Limerick, Burgess-Limerick and Grace (1996) critique models of the interview process

that assume an objective researcher stance whereby the subject is somehow passive in the process of meaning making (p.449). Using feminist theory they argue that researchers should 'accept the gift' of material given to them by participants and that they carry a burden of duty to their participants to present their stories faithfully. Their exploration of their own interview technique, whereby participants were 'empowered' by choices and negotiation, makes some sweeping assumptions about interview as being tied to a 'masculine, positivist paradigm'. This is not necessarily borne out by more recent insights from other writers (Kvale, 2006; Ritchie & Rigano, 2001). Nevertheless, their recognition that researchers must be sensitive to the perceptions of their participants as part of the process is helpful in identifying one of the potentially complex features of this research method. Furthermore, such sensitivity protects the participant's rights to informed consent in the process of interview (Miller & Bell, 2002).

Sensitivity to researcher-participant positioning is to be found in a discussion of positioning theory (Ritchie & Rigano, 2001) where the authors (male and female) suggest that understanding the shifting power relations during an interview aids an understanding of the conversations between researchers and their participants. Focussing specifically on classroom research, but with a view on the researchers rather than the teachers being observed, Ritchie and Rigano argue for a rethinking of the role of interview; it is not valid, they claim, to dismiss interview as a method hampered by subjectivity, rather we should accept the interview as 'an act of collaborative interpretation' (p.752) rather than an instrument through which one might establish the truth.

This act of collaborative interpretation during interview is further described by Chase (2010) who suggests that in the researcher might position themselves most usefully as listener to the interviewee as narrator. She suggests that in interview the most effective way of unlocking meaningful narrative is to establish the right 'broad question' from which the respondent is able to talk freely (p.220). This she acknowledges is not an easy task; the interviewer can not necessarily know which that question is and may well get to the end of a conversation without having found it. Indeed, her desire that researchers should become listeners is to some extent contradicted by her own insight. It suggests that the researcher can enter the dialogue of interview with a pre-ordained sensitivity to what is important; but attaching value to the way in

which the respondent answers is of itself a judgement that should not necessarily be part of a genuinely exploratory and open-ended research tool. If we seek to find out what the experiences of others are, then we cannot predetermine how they might respond to our questions and we cannot know if our questions will be the right ones.

Perhaps a less tortured way forward is simply to acknowledge that there are shifting power relations with the interview and that the researcher's task is to recognise these at the point of analysis. It is also the researcher's task to ask questions about her own and her respondent's cultural assumptions when analysing her transcripts and recordings. As Chase sees it, the researcher can at this point identify where context and use of acquired professional discourses that the narrator takes for granted can influence the responses and interpretation of experience that come out at interview (p.222). Moreover, Brinkmann and Kvale (2005) in their discussion of the ethics of interviewing consider that the interviewer must acknowledge the cultural, political and social context of the interview in order to engage in 'contextualised methods of reasoning' (p. 164).

However, Mitchell and Weber (1999) would argue that, for teachers, discourse during interview is at least in part a product of invention. In asking teachers to reflect on their professional growth they consider that their subjects' reflection on their past experiences were a mixture of myth and reality. This is not to say that they are critical of their participants but that they acknowledge that in asking teachers to reflect on their pedagogy it is likely that they combined what they *actually* did with what they *hoped* they did in their responses. This unconscious story telling would have grown from a sense of pressure to be the right sort of teacher and to perhaps conform to a perceived ideal of the teacher (p.132). Thus here we are presented with yet another dilemma of interview; that respondents' answers may be some kind of truth rather than 'the truth'. On the other hand, if, as Chase argues, we apply our knowledge of context to what we are hearing and interpreting, then perhaps we can uncover *a* truth that is important in terms of the question being asked. Furthermore, if we relinquish the need to seek 'truth' at all, then the complexities explored thus far become more palatable. In this way we can apply practical wisdom to our interpretation of our respondents' stories and thus respond responsibly and ethically to their consent to take part in research.

The fuzzy logic defending interview as a choice of research method is, at this point, looking somewhat contradictory. Nevertheless, openness to contradiction and uncertainty are perhaps part of the process of using interview and of interpreting it. Indeed, it could be argued that the dynamic nature of interview is a strength of this research tool but also something that makes it impossible to predict how it might play out (Corbin & Morse, 2003). To summarise the discussion covered: interview technique requires that researchers acknowledge their own and their respondents' cultural, institutional and political assumptions; interview is not necessarily a search for *the* truth but for *a* truth that is relevant to the interviewee, and it is the researcher's task to uncover that with openness, honesty and integrity; interview, in a post-modern definition, requires explicit acknowledgement of a degree of positioning between researcher and respondent so that the process of meaning making can be two-way; this process of meaning making may take place during the dialogue but may also be related only to the post-conversation analysis by the researcher.

Interviewing Teachers

Taking into consideration the views discussed above, it has been established that interviews with any identifiable group are likely to be governed by context specific issues. For teachers this will relate to the socio-cultural and political definitions of the region and time that they are teaching in, as well as more subtle difference in the shared understandings and practices of their particular schools and staff teams. Interviewing teachers is perhaps particularly complex because they operate in a world where different interpretations of pedagogy and the curriculum abound but where this is not necessarily openly discussed or even consciously acknowledged (Moore, et al., 2002). Furthermore, in a field where epistemology appears to rest in no small part on centralised assumptions about the right kind of knowledge, there may be a sense in which teachers feel allowed only to enter into dialogue that relates to specific definitions of their understanding and practice (Elbaz, 1981). This sense of inhibition is likely to be even greater if teachers are asked to talk about an area in which they do not necessarily feel knowledgeable – as was the case with this research – and means that the researcher is likely to be faced with reluctance in some teachers to consent to interview at all (Adler & Adler, 2003).

There are several studies where researchers have set out to ask teachers to reflect on their pedagogical identities. Baker and Johnson (1998) sense that ‘teachers talk about professional practice is observably moral work’ (p.231); thus dialogue with teachers about their craft might be defined as a dialogue of integrity. Therefore interview with teachers demands that the researcher respects the teacher’s interpretation of their craft and that the teacher’s craft in the first place is held as something highly valued (Elbaz, 1981); such a response would be an example of living the ethics of research (Mcfarlane, 2010). This very positive interpretation is at odds with Mitchell and Weber’s (1999) view that at interview teachers are most likely to combine myth and reality. However, both studies are generous in their view of teachers as consummate, caring professionals who need looking after within the interview relationship. Their differing views may rest on national and teaching-phase differences in their sample: Baker and Johnson reflected with secondary English teachers in Australia, while Mitchell and Weber sought narrative about identity from elementary school teachers in the US. Political and national contexts would be very different and this might be further compounded by the authors’ own experiences of teaching in the countries where they are now researchers.

Knight and Saunders (1999) also worked with secondary school teachers to explore their professional culture in the UK. While Baker and Johnson did not suggest that getting teachers to describe their practice in an Australian context was problematic, Knight and Saunders pre-identified that the constructs of professionalism and culture were open to such wide interpretation that their interviewees needed support in bringing their thinking to the surface (p.145). This disparity in approach and researcher assumptions could be related simply to different research questions but is possibly also linked to very different national contexts. However, it also sheds light on how interview as a method is influenced by researcher assumptions which will affect the type of question asked, the sample selected and the structure of the interview.

What is interesting here is that researchers identify that interviews with teachers are not straightforward acts of dialogue through which the researcher can ‘find something out’. Indeed, Knight and Saunders, who engaged specifically in dialogic interview, concluded that even with a

substantial sample size of 178 teachers they were unable to generalise particular findings. This reluctance to generalise rested in part on their recognition that the teachers had differing views related to the subjects they taught. However, their insight into the nature of interview also led them to conclude that just because informants do not say something this does not mean that they do not think it (p.152). Such integrity and honesty in handling their data might appear to render it useless, but they cite its value as being in comparative professional dialogue with the findings of other researchers. Furthermore, their caution is entirely appropriate in a paradigm associated with interpretivism and framed by an ethical stance that is lived rather than applied.

At this point, where data are cross-matched and generalised across studies, the richness and depth of the interview process is uncovered. For Brinkmann and Kavale it is just this thickening of the narrative that allows the researcher to act morally; this happens by contextualising and narrativising (p.175). Whilst acknowledging that there is not an 'out there' reality to be revealed (Knight & Saunders, 1999,p.153) the use of interview with teachers is demonstrated as a valid research tool through which the individual construction of meanings can support the creation of deep, complex and informed accounts of teachers' experiences in their classrooms.

Interpretivism and Constructivist Grounded Theory

"Interpretation is always performative; a performance event involving actors, purposes, scripts, stories, stages and interactions....Grounded theory is a performance, a set of performative and interpretive practices and ways of making the world visible. This commitment to visibility is anchored in the belief that the world, at some level, is orderly, patterned, and understandable" (Denzin, 2007,p.459)

With clarity as to how to work from an interpretivist stance theoretically, and a confidence that such a stance can foster valid analysis of data, researchers might seek some systematic approaches for discovering meaning in order that a given theoretical stance can closely match a chosen philosophical framework. Indeed, arguably the strength of any qualitative findings rest on the competence and rigour with which the associated data have first been analysed (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p.10). The systematic approach to data analysis used in this project lay with a particular system for theory generation; that of constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2000, 2006).

The lengthy opening citation for this section, from Denzin's thinking about grounded theory, is an indication of where the interpretivist stance finds a 'best fit' not only with grounded theory but with Bourdieusian 'ways of seeing'. Here Denzin invites us to see the clear inter-relationship of interpretive practice with a grounded theory methodology. Furthermore he identifies the role of grounded theory in generating patterns through which we can better understand our fields of enquiry. However, Denzin's observations do not assume one use of grounded theory as a method, nor does his reference to order and pattern assume that either is discernible according to positivistic ideals. More, he assumes that the search for patterns and themes is a valuable tool with which researchers can interact with their participants in the exploration of each other's interpretation of a world view. This section explores some of the current thinking behind potential use of grounded theory and its relationship with an interpretivist paradigm.

Mills, Bonner and Francis define grounded theory as both a method and a methodology that seeks to 'construct theory about issues of importance in people's lives' (2006, p. 2). It is suited to professional fields of enquiry – notably those of education and nursing – because it supports interpretation of human action, interaction and the study of people's responses to specific events most commonly collected through interview (Lomborg & Kirkewold, 2003). Grounded theory is 'popular' with interpretivist researchers because of its duality as method and as theory generator (Denzin, 2007, p.454); thus it acknowledges the relationship between the researcher and the researched. Grounded theorists come to their data without a predetermined theory in mind; they set out with an interest which guides their study and which makes them sensitive to what their participants are saying (Charmaz, 2006). If used 'appropriately', grounded theory should encourage the researcher to allow themes to develop; the ideas should emerge rather than the data forced to match a pre-existing construct. However, to speak of grounded theory as one thing is erroneous. It is not a unified approach to data analysis and there are several interpretations of its use (Charmaz, 2000, 2006; Denzin, 2007). In choosing to use it as a research instrument, exploration of its history and the intentions of key figures associated with its conception was necessary.

Frequently sourced to Glaser and Strauss (1967) grounded theory involves systematic coding of data, from early data collection onwards, in order to establish patterns and themes that emerge

through an inductive process of constant comparison. Emerging themes are coded and reformed into new codes until a point of saturation is reached where no new codes emerge. The researcher searches and sifts data seeking theory generation as an end point, rather than assuming a theory initially against which the data are classified. The process of theory generation is supported by memo writing and data annotation which engage the researcher in seeing layers of potential interpretation within human interactions during interview. Such a straightforward description makes the process appear unproblematic, but this tool is subject to its own variations in interpretation which fall into quite distinctly different camps.

It is possible to discern several clear types of grounded theory. The Glaserian approach (Glaser, 1978) might be described as a traditional grounded theory which situates itself in a positivist framework for interpretation. Glaser's line of enquiry encouraged the researcher to ground theory in the data while retaining an objective stance in creating codes; the researcher must enter the field of enquiry with as few predetermined thoughts as possible in order to remain sensitive to the messages in the data (p.3). His critics argue that, in assuming that neutrality is possible in coding, Glaser presupposes the possibility of researcher objectivity and an external 'reality' that can be revealed through the process of theory generation (Charmaz, 2006, p.510). Such an approach is clearly at odds with those of an interpretivist researcher who assumes quite the opposite; that objectivity is a questionable construct in research and that research can hope only to uncover *some* realities rather than *a* reality.

Traditional grounded theory was developed into an evolved grounded theory by Strauss and Corbin (1998) who claimed some freedom from Glaserian positivism. They saw the value of 'rich, thick description' that could grow from analysis of interview data and acknowledged the difficulty of researcher objectivity. However, their position appears contradictory on this point. While at once exhorting the researcher to see where their own world view influences their choice of coding headings for example, they suggest that grounded theory of itself is a system that can support both objectivity and sensitivity to meaning (p.48); as if the use of a research instrument supplies the route to making the findings impartial and related to a single reality. They claim an interpretivist stance in which theorizing is an act of construction (p.25), but their approach is perhaps more imbued with positivism than they consent to (Charmaz, 2000).

Respectfully departing from the considerable groundwork of Glaser, and of Strauss and Corbin, in exploring the potential of grounded theory, Charmaz puts forward a third way for grounded theory that more closely matches an interpretivist paradigm. Her method, described as constructivist grounded theory, differs from those of its predecessors in that it ‘reshapes the interaction between researcher and participants... and in so doing brings to the fore the notion of researcher as author.’ (Mills, et al., 2006, p.6). The vision of the ‘researcher as author’ maps on to the idea of interpretivist ‘researcher as story teller’ (Greene, 2010). Charmaz rejects the idea that data provide ‘a window on reality’ (Charmaz, 2000,p.524) and her form of grounded theory generates only a ‘discovered reality’ that is bound in time and context socially and politically. Thus it sits alongside an interpretivist reality that is time and place bound as considered in the previous section of this chapter.

In developing constructivist grounded theory as an approach Charmaz interpreted Glaser and Strauss’s original invitation to use grounded theory strategies ‘flexibly and in their own way’ (Charmaz, 2006, p.9). This is not to suggest that her approach lacks the rigour required to establish validity, but that she has chosen to develop this method in a different paradigm than one its founders might recognise. In doing so she takes issue with some of the assumptions of Glaser and Strauss, and Strauss and Corbin, particularly regarding theory generation. Glaser in particular postulates that freedom from researcher bias is a possibility (Glaser, 2002) and in turn considers that grounded theory of itself provides an objective tool for theorizing from data. Similarly Strauss and Corbin (1998), although more circumspect in their treatment of potential researcher bias, also suggest that theory is generated from the data by use of grounded theory as a prop for an objectivity of sorts. Although they acknowledge bias more freely than Glaser, they suggest that ‘scepticism’ during analysis might of itself lead to the objectivity required for theory development (p.46). For Charmaz, neither theory nor data are ‘discovered’ in the ways described above. She considers that rather than theory emerging from data “we are part of the world we study and the data we collect. We construct our grounded theories through our past and present involvements and interactions with people, perspectives and research practices.” (Charmaz, 2006,p.10)

This interpretive approach to theorizing is not without its critics. Glaser has been openly critical of Charmaz' suggestion that grounded theory can ever be constructivist, thus perhaps contradicting his earlier invitation to treat the method flexibly (Glaser, 2002). His censure is founded to some extent on his rejection of Charmaz' use of intensive interviewing as the key component of a constructivist grounded theory. This, for him, is where she has adapted grounded theory to suit a very specific research instrument and her own belief that qualitative data collection needs to include the depth of lengthy conversation if coding and theorizing are to have validity. For Glaser, interview was only ever intended to be one part of a grounded theory approach and, for the most part, interviews that would consist mainly of the researcher as passive listener who is 'told' by the participant how to interpret their responses (para 8). The polarity of positions between Charmaz and Glaser gives us a view of the very considerable flexibility of a grounded theory approach but, more importantly perhaps, it of itself supports Charmaz' view that grounded theory cannot alone create 'truths' from the data. As she says 'methods wield no magic' and are simply tools with which we might enhance 'seeing' but we cannot hope to create 'automatic insight' from their use (Charmaz, 2006, p.15).

However flawed Charmaz' constructivist grounded theory might be according to Glaser, it was an appropriate choice for this project because it supports the researcher in acknowledging their own role in the interpretation of their data. Indeed, Charmaz identifies intensive qualitative interviewing as a research tool that fits with constructivist grounded theory methods particularly well (Charmaz, 2006). This fit rested on the fact that both are 'open-ended but directed, shaped yet emergent, and paced yet flexible approaches.' (p. 29). In using a flexible approach to coding data, the qualities inherent in interpretivism were encouraged and coding was open to the subtleties and nuances of behaviour acknowledged in Bourdieu's constructs of field, habitus, doxa and capital. Furthermore, ethical integrity in interpreting interview data matched the honesty of an approach to analysis which acknowledged 'truth as provisional and social life as processual' (p. 126).

Bourdieu's Theory as Method

Bourdieuian theory brings together the methodology and the method for this research because it suggests that social scientists construct meaning when they take account of all levels of context; that they acknowledge their own habitus and political stance and that analysis should take account of field, habitus and capital (Bourdieu, 1990a). The theory attempts to straddle the objective and the subjective in a practical view of the world that seeks out relationships between all parts of the method (Wacquant, 2008). Bourdieu's particular focus on language as capital – as explored in Chapter 3's section on linguistic capital - makes use of his theory for analysis of interview narrative appropriate because it supports the researcher in 'seeing' truths and realities in discourse that may otherwise be hidden. Although grounded theory requires the researcher to discover the codes through a process of constant comparison, the codes themselves need a 'home' in a particular paradigm; use of a Bourdieusian framework makes the coding process explicit, supports rigour, and the researcher remains true to the interpretivist turn. In this section discussion centres on exploring how Bourdieusian theory explicitly supports an interpretivist approach using constructivist grounded theory in an educational setting.

The relationship of the researcher's framework to the world of practice, Bourdieu would argue needs to be acknowledged if sociologists are to respond meaningfully to research. For example, the academic conducting this research observing teachers must openly reflect on her position as scholar: this places her in a field other than the school, and one where rules of discourse and behaviour will differ. Bourdieu (1990b) goes so far as to suggest that scholastic thought and the study of practice are incompatible; the closeness of the two fields creating an erroneous sense of shared game playing which does not really exist. Furthermore Bourdieu is critical of researchers who feel that they can get inside the mind-set of those they study, because, he would argue, this is impossible to do if not working within the field of those observed (Bourdieu, 1990a, p.68). In seeking to counter this, the discussion of the complexity of teachers' understanding of their practice earlier in this chapter and in chapter 2 explicitly acknowledged the need to allow the conversations during the interviews to reveal the teachers' views of their own practice. This required that the researcher understood the various complexities inherent in education as a world

of practice, particularly in relation to teachers' knowledge and understanding, and these have been defined accordingly.

Mills and Gale (2007) reflect on the need for researchers in social sciences to 'understand and deconstruct their own position' (p.443). Indeed, Bourdieusian researchers must, they add, be aware that they are part of a particular field, occupy a particular position and have interests of a particular kind. To this end they defend use of Bourdieu's tools for analysis which have the potential to admit access to otherwise unconsciously structured thoughts, in order to go beyond simply describing 'what is going on' and explaining 'why' (Troyna, 1995, p. 398). The literature surrounding Bourdieusian constructs of field, habitus and capital is mixed in its adoption of this theory of method. Whereas Mills and Gale appear to assume that the Bourdieusian researcher is operating between all parts of the logic of practice and seeing their inter-relatedness, other writers see use of habitus alone as the most significant part of the method. In so doing, they apply their critique largely to habitus as a valid research tool.

An example of this attempt to use just one aspect of Bourdieusian method for educational research is Reay's exploration of habitus as method (Reay, 2004). Reay asserts that implicit in the idea that habitus is unconscious is the idea that it becomes conscious only when the individual is faced with an event that causes him/her to question the habitus and thus make it conscious and perhaps adapt it (p.438). She acknowledges that criticism is leveled at habitus because it appears to negate the existence of interior dialogue in an attempt to overplay the unconscious, but she rejects this stance because of her commitment to what she sees as Bourdieu's intention that habitus is a methodological tool rather than a construct. However, the idea that any part of Bourdieusian theory can be distinguished as just a tool rather than an inherent part of living the research does not sit well with Bourdieu's own writing. Rather, he would assert, field, habitus, doxa and capital are ways of viewing the world rather than scientific tools with which interpretation of data can become objective (Bourdieu, 1990a, p.90) The field structures the habitus, but the habitus contributes to the structuring of the field; thus separation of one from the other is unhelpful and something of a misinterpretation of either (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.127)

There is limited research literature available that explores use of all four – field, habitus, doxa and capital - as a conjoined method, with publication currently led notably by the work of Grenfell and James (1998) . For Grenfell and James, Bourdieusian methodology sits very appropriately in the classroom because Bourdieu’s focus on language as the centre of capital ownership has many resonances in education (see section on linguistic capital in chapter 3). Furthermore, hermeneutic and interpretivist enquiry of the type often associated with qualitative educational research engages with the role that language plays in analysing the focus of study (p. 9). In addition, Bourdieu focuses fundamentally on the role of reflexivity in his work; on the ways in which researchers might reflect on their own position in relation to that of their subjects, thus objectifying the research field and the researcher (p.122).

Grenfell and James assert that Bourdieu’s theory as method is not an attempt to define specific practice for research: indeed this potential flexibility is identified as its strength. The fact that ‘Practice and theorising are not regarded as separate activities’ (p.178) means that there can be an amount of freedom beyond strict principles of practice. These authors view this as a positive advantage, but others take issue with such a vague notion of practice. Lau (2004) goes so far as to suggest that habitus has become depreciated as a concept of social agency, and as a valid part of research methodology, precisely because of the confusion surrounding its identity. However, this is another example of researchers’ tendency to see one part of the theory as a lone construct rather than as inseparably fused to capital and field. Grenfell and James would argue that the concepts of field, habitus and capital need ‘soft boundaries’ in order that the significance of one or the other might dominate analysis at times, but at others be seen in relationships. Thus, Bourdieu gives us a very clear account of what his world view is, but does not define the detail through which we might use that epistemological stance in data analysis: this presents the Bourdieusian researcher with a particular philosophical stance that is not methodologically prescriptive but which does demand a reflexive researcher who examines their own position within the field of enquiry (Grenfell & James, 1998, p.175)

In his own research Grenfell (1996) sets out to use Bourdieusian thinking in what he refers to as a three level analysis when working with students in initial teacher education. He does this in order to demonstrate how field, habitus and capital can work together within an interpretivist

paradigm in an effort to introduce a particular research tradition to teacher education which he feels is lacking. Drawing on Bourdieu and Waquant (1992) he links notions of pedagogic habitus to the field of teacher education and explores student teachers' sense of capital in terms of their linguistic competence. His subject choice is an interesting one because of his own background in training secondary school teachers of modern foreign languages; thus, one might expect him to reflect on that when presenting his analysis. Somewhat disappointingly, given the abundance of Bourdieusian thinking that might relate to foreign language teaching in England in particular, he does not do this and appears to miss out on an aspect of the very good understanding his own writings give the rest of us as potential Bourdieusian researchers.

What he does succeed in however is in showing the social scientist that Bourdieu's theory lends itself to both micro and macro levels of interpretation. For example, having set out to define his subjects' pedagogic habitus he focuses on one small strand of this – linguistic competence. Having identified this seam of discussion he explores it with rich, thick description following interviews with the student teachers. This discussion weaves into linguistic competence and out again to exploration of the field site and wider notions of pedagogic habitus. Thus Grenfell demonstrates how, although it is important not to separate the field of power (level 1) from relations within the field and ownership of capital (level 2) and from analysis of habitus (level 3), it is not necessary to present all levels of analysis simultaneously (Grenfell & James, 1998).

Within this project, the constructs of field, habitus, doxa and capital were used to support generation of coding for the practice of constructivist grounded theory. Grenfell and James are critical of grounded theory as an approach because in their view it is precisely the kind of pseudo-scientific method despised by Bourdieu as attempting to create logic where there is none (Bourdieu, 1990a, p.82). However, significantly, their criticism is related to Glaserian method – critiqued earlier in this chapter – and one wonders what they might think of the more recent work of Charmaz in devising a form of grounded theory that matches the interpretive turn. Consistent with Bourdieusian theory, constructivist grounded theory respects the nature of research as presenting a reality – not the only reality - that is grounded in a specific context of social and political history. For analysis of education in particular, with its complex fields within fields and the centrality of language to its operation, the match of Bourdieusian theory to constructivist

grounded theory allowed for theory generation in a way that Bourdieu would recognise as logical practice. Coding of interview data using Bourdieusian constructs allowed for the possibility of researching the inter-relationship between linguistic field and habitus; for the possibility of 'mapping the field' and for identifying the role of linguistic capital in that field. The terms could inform the coding, but the codes were free to find their own homes as part of a reflexive process common to both Bourdieu and a Charmazian world view.

Returning to the images of the teacher habitus explored in chapters 2 and 3, one could say that disjuncture is a state of being in education: change has been witnessed as a norm in curriculum guidance and in expectations of pedagogy, particularly over the past two decades in the UK (Earl, et al., 2003; Fullan, 2000; Moore, 2004). As already stated, Bourdieu does acknowledge that where there is a disjuncture between field and habitus there is a greater likelihood of change. However, he also observes that groups tend to persist in their ways despite changes in conditions; change 'can be a source of misadaptation as well as adaptation, revolt as well as resignation' (Bourdieu, 1990a, p.62). The extent to which teachers might either sustain or adapt their existing practice for the teaching of English in order to accommodate the needs of second-language learners, of how they might do this either consciously or unconsciously, and of how this is governed or otherwise by external pressures and expectations forms a significant part of the data analysis in this project. Bourdieu's logic of practice potentially serves this analysis well, and his 'fuzzy logic' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) is attractive when attempting to deconstruct pedagogy which has been subject to apparently unceasing symbolic violence that renders it well beyond simple definition.

Summary:

The research paradigm, approach and method, and the philosophical framework for interpretation in this research are mutually enhancing. Discussion in this chapter has illustrated the close match between acknowledgement of subjectivity in a qualitative/interpretive approach and the thinking of Bourdieu who would question whether objectivity is ever possible. This relationship sits also between the analysis of interview data and recognition of the habitus and the impact of the field in dialogue between teachers and teacher researchers. Interpretivist

knowledge perhaps inevitably reflects the values of the inquirer, even as it seeks to reconstruct others' sense of meaning and supporting beliefs. Furthermore language use and history are constitutive of being human and therefore likely to sit deep in the unconscious of both the researcher and the participants. The Bourdieusian interpretive framework is complemented by the use of constructivist grounded theory in developing an honest and open analysis of data in ways that are respectful of the rights of interviewees.

Chapter 5: The Research in Practice

The theoretical discussion of the methodology in chapter 4 foregrounded the practical exploration of the research process in this chapter. The reader is introduced to the research context and the group of teachers selected for interview. The nature of the interviews is examined in terms of how they were conducted and the complexities inherent in interview in practice. Coding generated during data analysis using the qualitative data analysis programme NVivo is presented. Discussion analyses the benefits and limitations of using software to interpret dialogue and human interaction.

The Research Aims

The research aims were presented in the introduction but are repeated here in order to remind the reader of the focus for enquiry following the context-setting discussion in the chapters preceding section 2.

- 1) To identify the key issues for teachers of newly arrived Polish children in schools in low-density EAL areas
- 2) To identify the experiences and attitudes of primary school teachers in relation to planning for bilingual learners in low-density EAL settings
- 3) To explore and observe whether these attitudes change over time
- 4) To analyse the experiences of teachers of Polish children over at least a one year period
- 5) To analyse the challenges for teachers of EAL learners in low-density EAL settings in terms of Bourdieusian theory relating to linguistic habitus and linguistic field.

The Context: Educational Fields for the Schools and the Teachers

The project focussed on teachers teaching in 5 different primary schools of which 4 were in one county setting. The fifth school was situated in a large conurbation previously united with the county but which had become an independent unitary authority in 1992. In addition to conversations with teachers, interviews were also carried out with support staff from the county ethnic minority and traveller achievement service which incorporated a bilingual support team; with a learning support assistant in one of the four county schools; and with a bilingual support

teacher in the inner-city school. The interviews with support staff were used to explore the context in which the teachers were operating.

The county setting was one traditionally associated with affluence and had a large population of over 1.2 million that was 92% white British (ONS, 2007). However, the local authority in the county also had a history of explicit investment in raising teachers' and children's' intercultural awareness and of a support team employed specifically to focus on training for teachers in embracing diversity, in tackling racism and in supporting children with language acquisition when English was not their first language. Furthermore, the teams working in these fields were well regarded nationally and chosen to pilot policy-related materials in the teaching of, for example, advanced bilingual learners (NFER, 2007). Thus the field from the outset to some extent defied what might be assumed about the context for the teachers in the group selected for this project. The county experienced a very rapid rise in both the nationalities and languages spoken by children in its schools from 2004 when 40 languages were spoken to 2009 when over 110 languages were spoken. Over the years covered by this research (2007-2009) Polish became the language spoken by the second largest number of non-UK born pupils in the region. This growth pattern mirrored what was happening at national level with the arrival of Polish-born nationals following EU accession in 2004 (ONS, 2011).

Despite the surprising level of diversity in the area, interviews with county support staff indicated that the team had something of a challenge on their hands managing the needs and anxieties of schools which had very varying levels of confidence. The bilingual support team leader, Frances, referred to schools who had some experience with managing the language acquisition needs of children with EAL (generally those with a small, local British-Asian population) and others who had no experience at all. Schools of both type, and those in between, were admitting Polish children from 2006 onwards and this led to the employment of two Polish speaking bilingual assistants just to support the rapid influx of new arrivals in their early days in school.

The support structure for newly arrived non-English speaking pupils had been agreed between the local authority support team and the Headteachers in the county, and was planned around

most pupils - depending on their home language - having an entitlement to 10 hours of support from a bilingual assistant as soon as was possible after arrival in school. How schools used their 10 hours was determined by the teachers and other staff accessing the support, and Headteachers also had the option of buying in additional classroom input or staff training. The fact that this was a choice, Frances observed, meant that schools in most need of training would not necessarily be the schools where training was targeted, and this was a tension for the team whose brief included monitoring attainment in ethnic minority children.

The inner-city setting also had a population of more than 90% white British prior to 2004, but had a history of some cultural diversity chiefly connected to Irish and Asian communities. After 2004 this city had experienced a very significant growth in numbers of Polish migrants and at the time of the research one in eleven people in the city were Polish (ONS, 2007). Originally it had been the intention to focus only on schools in the county setting, but the opportunity arose to interview newly qualified teachers in a school in this city and I was interested to see if the issues for newly qualified teachers were similar in any setting regardless of the numbers of ethnic minority children with L2 needs. Moreover, there was potential value in comparing schools' experiences of differing numbers of Polish children: in this large inner-city primary school the population of children with EAL had risen from 30% to 50% between 2002 and 2008, and of this number 30% of the children were Polish. Context interviews in the inner-city setting were provided by Jana who was an experienced EAL support teacher who was bilingual Polish-English and who had considerable knowledge of the city's past and recent Polish history. Schools in this city were also supported by a bilingual support team and there was some liaison with the ethnic minority achievement services from the county due to the city's location within the county geographically.

The Group of Teachers

Selection of the teachers in both the county and the inner-city schools was purposive but involved an element of opportunity-based choice which required some reframing of the original intended target of teachers with no experience of linguistic and cultural diversity (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Although the intention was to interview only teachers in low-density EAL settings, this ambition of itself proved unrealistic given the variation in the county's schools: the

fact that my own view of the county was that there would be very little experience of the teaching of EAL was immediately challenged and this forced some explicit reflection on preconceptions of what I was assuming I might 'find out' (Greene, 2010). Data from the county bilingual support team were used to identify potential schools in the region which had admitted Polish children in 2006. Headteachers of twelve schools were contacted by letter with a view to taking part in interviews themselves or to indicate where staff members might wish to do so (Appendix 1a). This created something of a tension in the first year of interviews because it meant that the Headteachers as gatekeepers were giving permission on behalf of their teachers, and it is possible that this affected the nature of the dialogue during interview where teachers may not necessarily have felt that their taking part in the project was a personal choice (Homan, 2002; Miller & Bell, 2002).

Five schools showed interest in the project using an expression of interest return form (Appendix 1b) and this created a pilot group for preliminary interviews in spring 2007; conversations with teachers and Headteachers were used to establish whether there was a phenomenon for exploration. These early unstructured interviews are not part of the project's data set but they provided valuable insight into the very variable experiences of schools and individuals experiencing the challenge of change. Following pilot interviews the schools were sent transcripts of the conversations and were contacted to ask if they would continue as part of the project (Appendix 1c). Of the pilot group, two schools continued with the project for substantive data collection during the academic year 2007-2008. Perhaps significantly, the two schools who were willing to continue with the project were the two from the pilot group with the most experience of teaching children EAL; the nature of sample selection in a research field linked to areas of 'difference' might be affected by reluctance in the inexperienced to take part because of fears that they may say 'the wrong thing' (Adler & Adler, 2003).

The first year of data collection involved interviews with 6 teachers in autumn 2007 and summer 2008 (Table 5.1). The teachers taught in two schools which meant that to some extent the respondents were working in communities of practice with some shared views of what the experience of admitting Polish children had been like for them. In the original thinking for this project I had wanted to interview individual teachers over more than one year to see if their

thinking changed in response to the experience over time. However, this became impractical for several reasons: the children all moved classes at the end of an academic year and were, therefore, no longer with the same teachers; the teachers themselves felt that once the children were no longer with them their capacity to take part meaningfully in interviews about their experiences with their Polish children was limited. This was interesting of itself because it indicated the extent to which the teachers possibly identified their practice with their children in a time-limited way. Nevertheless, Polish children were still arriving in large numbers and, in a desire to capture this regional experience over more than one year, a second group of participants was identified.

For the second round of interviews in 2008-2009 there was an attempt to select teachers from schools which were less experienced with EAL and where the numbers of Polish children were very small in order to try a closer match with the original research intentions (Table 5.1). The identification of schools that had recently admitted Polish children was actioned in the same way using the county's data set. The two rural schools and their two teachers fitted the picture of the practitioners envisaged as participants at the project's inception: it should be noted that other rural schools with very limited experience of children with EAL had been contacted but that it appeared difficult to explain to them why it might be interesting for me to speak with them. In some cases schools wanted classroom support rather than reflection with a researcher; in other cases teachers lacked the confidence to talk with a researcher because they worried that they 'did not have anything to say' due to their lack of experience. As already noted, attracting participants was a challenge in this project: my perception of this is chiefly that those invited to interview felt that I was dealing with a sensitive topic and this encouraged reluctance in respondents (Adler & Adler, 2003).

At this time a request was made to graduating teaching students in my place of work who might be interested in taking part in interviews during their NQT year, and this resulted in the selection of the two NQTs in the inner city school: one of these, Kathy, was an ex-student, while Jo was an NQT in the same school who had trained at a neighbouring university. In summary, between 2007 and 2009 I interviewed 10 teachers in 5 schools and 4 support staff as described in tables 5.1 and 5.2.

Table 5.1 The teacher participants interviewed between 2007 and 2009

Name *	Role	Years in profession	Experience with teaching children with EAL	School setting
Interviews conducted Autumn 2007 and Summer 2008				
Claire	YR teacher, Foundation Stage lead and EAL coordinator	25	Experienced and studying EAL for MA	Urban primary school with rising profile of children with EAL after 2004. Small numbers of Asian and British-Asian children pre-2004 (13% of roll). At 2007 20% (31 of 160) of school roll EAL of which 7 spoke Polish
Dee	Y2 teacher and SENCO	23	Experienced, TEFL trained	
Alison	Y4 teacher and drama subject leader	4 (first year at this school)	None	
Nicola	Y6 teacher, KS 2 coordinator and maths subject leader	12	Some with small numbers of EAL learners, but did not rate herself as experienced	
Patricia	Headteacher	25	Experienced and studying EAL for MA	Urban infant and nursery school with rising profile of children with EAL after 2004. Small numbers of Asian and British-Asian children pre-2004 (10% of roll). At 2007 18% of school role had EAL (40 of 243) of which Polish speakers were the greatest number.
Gina	Y1 teacher	18 (first year at this school)	None	
Interviews conducted Autumn 2008 and Summer 2009				
Peter	Y 5 class teacher	25	Early career experience in inner city schools with language diversity; none since 1990.	Rural junior school with one other non-English child.
Rosie	Y 3 teacher	NQT (trained on GTP in this school)	None	Rural primary school with isolated bilingual learners (2% of roll)
Kathy	Y3 teacher	NQT (trained on a 3 year undergraduate route into teaching)	Limited during training	Inner City RC primary school with history of admitting children with EAL. 30% of children had EAL in 2002 which rose to 50% by 2009. 30% of children with EAL were Polish speaking and were the greatest number of non-British born admissions after 2004.
Jo	YR teacher	NQT (trained on a PGCE)	None during training	

Table 5.2 Participants interviewed relating to non-classroom teacher roles between 2007 and 2009

Name *	Role	Experience with teaching children with EAL	Employment setting
Frances	County level team leader for bi-lingual support in primary and secondary schools	Whole career orientation to advisory support for intercultural awareness raising and developing teachers' understanding of the needs of learners with EAL	Advisory team within county education authority
Edyta	County level bilingual support assistant for Polish children (one of two)	Lived in England for two years and worked exclusively with newly arrived Polish children in primary and secondary schools.	Advisory team within county education authority; line managed by Frances.
Jana	EAL coordinator	Whole career role as EAL support teacher. Ran Polish Saturday School. Polish/ English bilingual speaker	Inner city RC primary where Kathy and Jo teach
Vera	Learning Support Assistant (LSA) with specialism in EAL	Experience in school and recent experience on a course specifically for LSAs on teaching EAL. Advisory and practical support for other LSAs and teachers in the school.	Urban infant and nursery school where Patricia is Headteacher.

*All participants were given pseudonyms in order to protect their anonymity (BERA, 2004)

The Interviews

Interview was the sole method of data collection in this project, although it had been intended that there would be other data in the form of classroom observations and the sharing of teachers' journals of their experiences and a request for this was built in to the participants' project information sheet (Appendix 2a) and the consent form (Appendix 2b). However, only two of the teachers indicated a willingness to invest in time with me beyond the two interviews and so it was decided to retain just interview as the research instrument in order that there was parity of data collection between the participants. It must be acknowledged in educational research that the lives of teachers are focussed on their pupils and that the researcher will always have to fit in around this primary professional focus. Furthermore, in England, a culture of monitoring and

observation is embedded in schools so that agreeing to yet more intrusion in the classroom asks a great deal of teachers and an accompanying sensitivity on the part of the researcher (Baker & Johnson, 1998).

The interviews were timed to harness teachers' perceptions of their experiences teaching Polish children at the beginning and end of the school year and to allow for the possibility of observing change over time. Thus, the first interviews were conducted in the autumn and the second set in the summer. The context interviews were held as appropriate depending on the work pattern and location of the interview subject: Frances was interviewed in the summers of 2007 and 2008, Vera twice as part of the data collection from her school in 2007 – 2008, Edyta once in the summer of 2008 and Jana once in the summer of 2009. Frances was interviewed more than once because of my interest in her overview of what was happening for Polish children and their teachers generally in the county.

Prior to taking part in the interviews, teachers and other staff from support teams were asked to complete a consent form (Appendix 2b) which explicitly outlined for them the commitment requested during the research and the undertaking of the researcher to protect their anonymity, to ensure the right to withdraw and to share data in an open and honest fashion which respected their role in the process (BERA, 2004). Interviews were timed to be of optimum convenience to the interviewees and were set during their non-contact time from their classes, during the lunch-hour, or after school depending on the preference of the subject. Taking account of the potential power relationship within the conversations (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005), the interviews were all held in the schools where the teachers or support staff taught in order to maximise their sense of control over the process, their comfort in their own surroundings and out of respect for their very busy professional lives (Limerick, et al., 1996).

Questions for the autumn interviews with the teachers reflected the project aims; thus they combined questions that focussed on pedagogy for the teaching of English as well as questions relating to attitudes towards and experiences of managing linguistic difference. They were phrased as follows:

1. What are your views on how English speaking children best develop their use of English for speaking, reading and writing in class?
2. Does this differ for children learning English as an additional language?
3. How do you feel about the need for primary school teachers to teach English to new arrivals?
4. What, at this point in time, would you describe as key issues for you (successes and barriers) in developing English in your Polish children?

Questions were near identical for both the 2007 and 2008 autumn interviews, with some minor adaptation to the focus in two questions with the second set of teachers (Appendix 3a). I had to adapt the first question relating to classroom practice for developing spoken language in order to make explicit my wish for the teachers to explain their understanding of their pedagogical choices for the development of first and second language acquisition; this important focus in terms of the research had been lacking from the responses of the first cohort. The questions were sent to the interviewees prior to interview together with an outline of the project (Appendix 2a) in order to inform their consent and allow them to prepare their responses. The approach taken was to ask questions in what looked on the surface like a semi-structured approach to the dialogue but which in practice was more of a narrative interview as individuals pursued different points of interest to them and to the interviewer. Thus, although the conversations covered the same broad topics, the ways in which discourse evolved was unique to the interviewee and their experiences (Chase, 2010).

An unforeseen feature of the first round of interviews was the anxiety of most of the interviewees, with the possible exception of Patricia the Headteacher. In introducing myself at the outset I had explained my background as a teacher and researcher in inner-city schools (Appendix 1a). Whilst my perception of this had been that it would encourage the teachers to see me as a peer, in some cases it may have been intimidating because I was perceived as an ‘expert’. This ‘situational particularity’ (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005) was something that I attempted to address in the second interviews the following summer, where I made a conscious attempt to be the listener to the interview participants as narrators (Chase, 2010; Ritchie & Rigano, 2001). However, it was difficult in many of the interviews to put the teachers at ease;

this despite a different style of introduction to the second group of interviewees when I had reflected on the impact of my invitation letter on the first group. Thus, power asymmetries in research interviews are perhaps always difficult to manage because they rest on perceptions and anxieties that are unlikely to be expressed between strangers (Kvale, 2006).

After both interviews the participants were sent transcripts of the conversations in order that they could comment on whether they were an accurate record of the interview. For both groups the second interviews conducted in the summer had some questions in common, but they chiefly picked up on points made in the first interviews and were thus more finely tuned to the individual experiences of the teachers and exploring how their perceptions of the children and of their pedagogy for either L1 or L2 acquisition had developed during the year (Appendix 3b). The length of interviews varied between the teachers, with those conducted between 2007-8 averaging 26 minutes and those from 2008-9 averaging 30 minutes. Variation in interview length was related to a number of factors such as time available to the interviewee and to individual differences such as confidence and willingness to talk. The significance of these differences is explored in later analysis of the interviews. The interview questions for the context interviewees were devised according to the roles they carried and the settings they worked in. Systems for gaining informed consent and for collaboration in making sense of the narrative in their interviews matched those used with the teachers.

Making the process of meaning-making two-way sits to some extent with the choices that the researcher makes in structuring the interview. This choice will of itself rest on other considerations relating to the method to be used for data analysis. I have already alluded to the match of intensive interviewing with constructivist grounded theory. Although the interviews were not 'intensive' it was the case that they were intended to be relatively free-flowing in order to allow the respondents to relate their experiences from their own point of view. This was particularly important given that my own teaching experiences were quite different from their own, and I needed to liberate my thinking from what were undoubtedly a wide range of preconceptions about what I might hear (Chase, 2010). I am not sure that the interviewer can ever truly 'hear' what the interviewee is saying, but my decision to keep questions open-ended and to allow some narrative in the interviews was taken with the goal of obtaining richness of

detail and of potentially allowing the participants to reflect anew on their practice (Charmaz, 2006).

It was undeniably tempting to force early data to fit findings from my own previous research (Flynn & Stainthorp, 2006) about the teaching of children with English as an additional language, but I was often taken by surprise at how the interviews played out (Corbin & Morse, 2003). The need to be open to elements of surprise that challenged my preconceptions was a key part of my choice of grounded theory, although it would be dishonest to say that responding to surprise was ever an easy task during either the interview process or the post-interview analysis. Indeed it was difficult at times to remain positive about the data when the questions did not appear to encourage the openness I would have wished of my respondents (Chase, 2010). However the match of the interview process with constructivist grounded theory encouraged an approach to analysis that looked beneath the surface of many comments and allowed the development of meanings and interpretations to emerge. I use plural nouns here as an indication of how the data did not show me just one thing; there were several ways in which the data represented several different phenomena.

Generating Theory from Interview Data through the Use of Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS)

The discussion so far has referred to interviews as the research instrument and to coding as part of a grounded theory approach to analysing interview. Coding was not synonymous with analysis, but coding throughout the project played a crucial part in analysis (Basil, 2003). As previously indicated, grounded theory works through a process that includes coding of data, and it is through revision and development of coding that a point of saturation is reached from which the researcher can build theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Coding through a process of constant comparison is useful because it opens up the researcher to ideas that might not have been previously considered, and to the possibility of discarding codes which are found to be unimportant or irrelevant to the project's focus when reconsidered in the light of new data. Thus, it provides a systematic approach to repeated, layered, refining of the data into categories pertinent to the research question (O'Flaherty & Whalley, 2004). Furthermore, the process of

coding sharpens the researcher's ability to ask questions about the data and thus start to construct theories (Charmaz, 2000, p.523; Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p.25).

Whilst there is clearly disagreement as to how these codes (known in NVivo as nodes; effectively electronic repositories for coded sections of transcript) are generated, particularly to what extent they are an objective or an interpretive response to the data, the generation of nodes in itself is one of the defining features of the grounded theory approach as presented by Glaser, Strauss and Corbin, and Charmaz. What defines a constructivist grounded theory researcher is in *how* the questions of the data arising from the coding process are posed; questions seek *meaning* rather than *truth* (Charmaz, 2000, p.524). The computer programme Nvivo 7 (QSR, 2006), later upgraded to Nvivo 9 (QSR, 2010), was used to support analysis in this project, and some consideration as to the wisdom of using electronic means for qualitative data interpretation is discussed here alongside the presentation of how coding evolved during the analysis.

The tools associated with various CAQDAS programs include a range of advantages cited in recent research literature. Firstly, coding using electronic document format is quicker and more efficient than paper and pen coding which can be cumbersome and difficult to edit without starting over again (Wickham & Woods, 2005, p. 253). In addition, the computer program allows the researcher to retrieve nodes easily, to compare different data sets across nodes and to arrange nodes into sets with much greater efficiency than can be achieved by hand. The most notable advantage of this is that the researcher is freed to 'play with ideas' (Walsh, 2003) and to focus readily on data analysis rather than data processing (Wickham & Woods, 2005). The knowledge that I could quickly organise, group, rename, edit, delete and merge nodes as I coded transcripts was liberating; although it must be acknowledged that the process of constant comparison and of knowing that there could always be an alternative interpretation to what any one interviewee said in interview was also daunting. The use of software can never replace the researcher as analyst, and this of itself can be dispiriting when using a powerful computer programme that looks as if it might be able to 'think' with the insight that only humans can bring to the data (Walsh, 2003). Lewins and Silver (2009), well known in the UK for their work with CAQDAS, are clear about this as a potential limitation: that the software is just a useful tool and its purpose is not to provide the inexperienced researcher with a quasi-methodological framework.

Walsh adds an additional warning about the use of CAQDAS which is that it might ‘impose rigidity’ in order to imitate quantitative programs and techniques for analysis (p.255). The adoption of any system for qualitative data analysis - including the use of grounded theory – could be raised by critics of an interpretive approach as an attempt to impose validity on to the research. Thus, the use of software that gives the appearance of rigour might well undermine the qualitative researcher’s intention to be true to their belief that no one truth can be generated by data analysis. The machine cannot replace the nuances of human action and interaction and the coding can only really be a means to a rich, narrative account of the project’s findings, whether the coding is done on paper or on screen (Charmaz, 2000). Armed with an awareness of the limitations of the tools chosen, coding the interviews and note taking, model design and memoing were all processed using NVivo from the start of the project through to its conclusion.

Early coding (Table 5.3) demonstrates that in ‘playing with ideas’ in the interview data (Walsh, 2003) collected between 2007 and 2008, nodes tended towards the descriptive rather than the analytical. There was some grouping into sets of nodes with identities such as ‘attainment’, ‘tensions’ and ‘confidence’, but largely the nodes are an indication of my own preoccupation with subject knowledge for the teaching of English and with the context provided by the school, rather than an analysis that went beneath the surface into interpretation. Nevertheless, these early nodes did give some indicators of potential seams of enquiry for subsequent interviews and they also supported progress in analysing elements of teachers’ practice sought by the project’s aims.

Table 5.3 Nodes from early coding of the interviews

Nodes		
Age of arrival makes a difference	Pedagogy - props or visual	School anxiety about EAL
Attainment – lack of English problem	Pedagogy – different from monolingual	School involvement EMAS
Attainment – language development	Pedagogy – modelling	School managing support for English language acquisition
Attitude - other children	Pedagogy – no different	School Prior experience of EAL
Attitude – cultural difference	Pedagogy – reading	Subject knowledge – limited
Attitude – nurturing self esteem	Pedagogy – talk	Subject knowledge – understanding EAL issues
Attitude to Polish – positive	Pedagogy – word level	Support EMAS – effective and how or not
Attitudes – teachers to EAL children	Pedagogy – writing	Tension – curriculum relevance for EAL
Confidence - training related	Polish children arrival circumstances	Tension – PC
Confidence – feeling supported	Polish children early experience in school	Tension – role and time management
Confidence – lack of	Polish children individual difference	Tension – streaming
Confidence – liaison inter staff	Polish children settling in	Tensions – age of arrival
Confidence – providing for EAL	Polish families and school	Tensions – funding support
Experience of teaching EAL – teacher	Polish families and speaking English	Tensions (class management)
Interview response – anxious	Research engaged	
Metalinguistic awareness	Rise in number of EAL children	

While coding at any stage of the project I was also reading for and writing the chapters presenting background literature and methodology, and the process of knowledge transformation that this fostered (Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1993) influenced the editing and revision of nodes nearly as much as the rereading and refining of responses to the data itself. A second advantage of CAQDAS software programs is that of their wide ranging functionality: different documents can be kept in one place and readily available for easy access and comparison (Walsh, 2003). I found this ‘electronic cupboard’ function particularly useful for all parts of the writing of this thesis. For example I was able to keep track of notes made about readings in a way that would not have been served so well by the standard file-keeping of a basic word-processing package. Interestingly Charmaz (2000) levels a criticism at CAQDAS software for precisely the reason

that I found it valuable. She considers that it fractures data and that, while a computer programme is helpful for managing the parts, this can only appear in a disjointed way on screen (p.521). On the contrary; it was the storage in folders on one screen that kept me in continuous contact with different parts of the project as they proliferated (Lewins & Silver, 2009).

Equally useful was the memo function; memos being a part of the process of grounded theory (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Memos can be stored in one part of the 'cupboard' and visual icons present the researcher with constant reminders of insights they might have linked to one piece of data but which might potentially get lost in piles of field notes over time. Again, the usefulness of this was considerable. Memos written at early stages of the project sometimes simply acted as a useful reminder of how far my thinking had come, but they also provided valuable prompts at times when thinking had been interrupted for a while or when returning to writing that had been left in order to code and vice versa. Thus, the use of software significantly supported the 'cyclical' nature of data gathering, data analysis and of writing over a long period of time (Lewins & Silver, 2009).

Over time, the cycle of thinking about the data evolved into a marriage of the coding system with the Bourdieusian framework for analysis. Thus, from the mid-point of the project, nodes were identified using the constructs of capital, field, doxa and habitus for recoding the interviews. In some ways this might be seen as a departure from true grounded theory in that it could be described as the imposition of a list of descriptors against which data are coded rather than the researcher allowing the themes to emerge for themselves. However, arguably, this allocation of nodes is more in tune with Charmaz' version of grounded theory in that it acknowledges the reality of the ways in which the researcher is thinking rather than pretending that Glaserian objectivity is an attainable goal.

The new nodes allowed for analysis of patterns of behaviour as expressed in the teachers' descriptions of their practice (habitus and doxa) and to trace where the field was interacting with teachers' professional choices in the classroom. Furthermore it supported the analysis of layers of social, cultural and linguistic capital allocated to the Polish children, their parents and their teachers. Pattern coding (Miles & Huberman, 1994) – by which I pulled material together into

‘child nodes’ related to the ‘parent nodes’ (QSR, 2010) represented by the Bourdieusian framework - also laid the groundwork for comparison of data across interviewees and for the generation of theory that would ultimately support my understanding of the challenges for the teachers and for the field of education. However, the patterning was not without its challenges. It was deceptively easy to pattern quickly (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 70) and to assume meaning or interpret allocation to one ‘parent’ node without really reading the transcripts in sufficient depth to support assignment to any one node.

The node related to doxa, for example, was particularly difficult to code against because of its proximity to habitus conceptually: indeed, it has been argued earlier in this thesis that Bourdieusian constructs are themselves inseparable, so it is not surprising that separation created a tension in the coding. Particularly problematic was the nature of teachers’ understanding of their professional practice and their apparent inability to really articulate how they made decisions about their teaching or why they thought in certain ways about children and learning (Knight & Saunders, 1999). This meant that judgements had to be made about whether, for example, what they said indicated an aspect of their habitus or if it was simply a comment on the field. That said, the subdivision was a useful strategy for fine grained scrutiny of the different aspects of Bourdieu’s practical logic in the data in order that they could be reunited in the writing for the analysis.

Diagrams showing the final node categories can be found in the following pages as Tables 5.4 – 5.7. In order to manage the problem of dividing a set of research concepts that were not intended for division, I allocated nodes within overarching ‘parent’ concepts of Field, Habitus, Capital and Doxa, and within these were nested sets of ‘child nodes’ which sometimes went to several levels. Notably the nodes relating to Capital were the most detailed and layered. Within Doxa, using the term ‘about’ in the node title usefully forced a reading of the interview transcripts for the expression of belief rather than understanding and this supported differentiation between habitus and doxa. When analysing where what the teachers said were indications of habitus I used a more metaphorical set of node titles which to some extent drew on Moore’s definitions of teacher identity (Moore, 2004).

Nodes relating to the construct of ‘field’ (Table 5.4) reflected a range of themes generated in conversation with the teachers. These themes related to the structuring of the field in terms of the expectations of the curriculum, resourcing, teachers’ reference to the support of others in their learning communities, and the impact of new migration on the intake in schools. Figures 5.1 and 5.2 show examples of coded transcript extracts for two different node sets.

Figure 5.1 discussing his Polish pupil’s mathematics attainment: coded as Field/ Curriculum influences/attainment driven

In maths she’s doing – she’s on the weaker side of average. She’s doing well in the group, we’ve got above average, average and below average groups, not exactly down to numbers but and her results in the QCA terms were quite high for that below average group which and the area that is obviously difficult for her is problem solving and articulating and understanding the nuances of a complex mathematical question.

In Figure 5.1 Peter matches his Polish pupils’ attainment to national expectations, something that was common in discourse with all of the teachers. This was coded as demonstrating a relationship with a field that is attainment-driven in terms of expectations that are related to fluency in English. In Figure 5.2 Nicola explains that she can’t find the time to differentiate sufficiently for her Polish children or those with other learning needs. This was expressed by many of the teachers in the group and was defined as a tension that was time-related.

Figure 5.2 Nicola expressing a sense of frustration at lack of time: coded as Field/Tensions/limited time

In a whole class context, I think it’s very difficult for a class teacher to be more specific in their teaching. If it’s just you and a class of thirty one children and you’ve got a lot of other special educational needs as well, you can’t possibly do the very highly interactive one on one or small group work.

Table 5.4 Nodes Related to Field

PARENT NODE	1st level child node	2nd level child node	3rd level child node
FIELD	Tensions	limited resources	
		limited funding	
		limited time	
		leadership challenges	
		philosophical difference	
	Curriculum influences	age-related	
		policy-related	
		school-related	
		attainment-driven	
	Learning communities	teachers supporting teachers	
		beyond school	
		teachers supporting children	
		children supporting children and teachers	
	School philosophy	caring ethos	
		other children accepting	
	Migration impact		
	EAL training limited		

The nodes related to habitus (Table 5.5) might be described as more interpretive than those related to field. The nodes related to field emerged quite readily from what the teachers said: for example they would refer explicitly to the influence of the PNS on their teaching or to something that was a barrier to their practice. However, as habitus is chiefly related to unconscious behaviours and dispositions, transcripts were more actively subject to the researchers' interpretation of what teachers' responses might indicate. This proved challenging and was the node set where most changes were made to the node titles during the course of analysis. It was also the construct that was least transparent in terms of attempts to code transcripts against it because it was possible much of the time to attribute aspects of habitus to doxa and to the influence of the field. For example that there is a node called 'busy' which is not very different from the time-related tensions node defined in the set relating to field. In essence, what made the

habitus nodes different was that the transcript extracts coded against them demonstrated a mind-set rather than a description of the teachers' experiences.

Table 5.5 Nodes Related to Habitus

PARENT NODE	1st level child node	2nd level child node	3rd level child node
HABITUS	Teacher as story teller		
	Rewarding		
	Teacher as Carer	nurturing	
		desire for supportive parents	
	Teacher as Pragmatist	busy	
		child centred planning	
		high and low expectations	
		process focussed	
	Teacher as Reflective Practitioner	shifting	
		reflective	
	Teacher Anxiety	anxiety for child's success	
		anxiety about lack of experience	
		anxious to do the right thing	
	Teacher Confidence	confident	
		lacks confidence	

The nodes related to capital were the most intricate and the most numerous (Table 5.6)

Table 5.6 Nodes Related to Capital

PARENT NODE	1 st level child node	2 nd level child node	3 rd level child node
CAPITAL	Linguistic Capital	relative value of languages	
		teachers' sense of capital	
		use of Polish	
		English fluency	<i>impact on attainment</i>
			<i>parents' level of</i>
			<i>children more fluent</i>
			<i>children less fluent</i>
			<i>confidence to speak English</i>
			<i>Polish better than native English</i>
	Professional Capital (Experience)	research oriented	
		inexperienced in L2	
		inexperienced	
	Professional Capital (Subject knowledge)	L1 development	<i>L1 writing</i>
			<i>phonics teaching</i>
			<i>L1 spoken</i>
		L2 generic subject knowledge	<i>L2 spoken</i>
			<i>L2 writing</i>
			<i>L1SK is L2 SK</i>
			<i>relationship to English lessons</i>
			<i>L2 reading</i>
	Social Capital	migrant parents in school	
		attributed to Polish children	
		social deprivation	
	Cultural Capital	teacher perceptions of national differences	
		difference celebrated	
		difference generalised	
		Polish culture and faith	
		travel experience	

The coding of transcripts for capital required initial subdivision in to types of capital. This was relatively straightforward for the constructs of social and cultural capital because these are defined extensively in the literature both by and about Bourdieu. The term ‘linguistic capital’ was coined initially by Grenfell (1996) and was a valuable definition for a project with a central focus of language learning and teaching. The node related to fluency in particular needed third level sub-divisions because of the number of different ways in which teachers referred to children’s progress in terms of this. ‘Professional Capital’ was a term that emerged after several rounds of coding the data with a view to distilling teachers’ subject knowledge. Originally I had attempted to code subject knowledge as a node of itself, but over time and re-readings of the transcripts the nature of teachers’ subject knowledge as complex and many-layered rendered coding in this way unhelpful. ‘Professional Capital’ as a term allowed me to capture teachers’ experiences and understanding in ways that reflect the epistemology of teacher subject knowledge presented in chapter 2.

Nodes relating to doxa (Table 5.7) were at times closely related to the construct of professional capital: for example, teachers might express an opinion about how children acquired a second language and this could also be interpreted as a demonstration of subject knowledge. Thus, there are some sections of transcript which were coded against nodes in both the capital and doxa sets. For example Figure 5.3 shows Gina talking about her practice and this extract was coded at *Capital/Professional Capital (subject knowledge)/L2 generic subject knowledge/L1SK is L2SK* and at *Doxa/About teaching children with EAL/same as for monolingual children*. The need to code for both understanding and belief was part of the process of identifying the complexities in teachers’ subject knowledge

Figure 5.3 Gina describing her practice in terms of her beliefs about her teaching for L2 learners

<p>I’m always used to and I try really hard to be very literal in the way I speak to them, I’ve always been like that, or I’ve learnt to be like that, over the last you know, as I’ve become more proficient at being a teacher, I’ve become more proficient at being very literal, I never use ambiguities, wouldn’t dream of it, not even with a class of English speaking children.</p>

Where the nodes related to doxa were most useful was in analysing interview responses that

demonstrated teachers' beliefs about the children and their families. Therefore this node set was valuable when trying to define how the teachers responded to linguistic and cultural difference and this is illustrated during the discussion in chapter 8.

Table 5.7 Nodes Relating to Doxa

PARENT NODE	1st level child node	2nd level child node	3rd level child node
DOXA	About L2 acquisition		
	About Asian families and children		
	About other non-British children		
	About Polish parents	supportive	
		aspirational	
		maintain home culture	
		hard working	
		making a better life	
		support networks	
		here to stay	
		demanding	
		limited English	
	About Polish children	hard working	
		able	
		teacher friendly	
		motivated	
		differ from each other	
		anxious	
		sociable	
		enhance language experience for class	
		indulged	
		drain on resources	
		no school before 7	
		demanding	
		harder for older children	
	About teaching children with EAL	separate EAL and SEN	
		same as for monolingual children	

The creation of neat lists of categories (Tables 5.4 – 5.7) is a reminder of the danger that CAQDAS can make analysis appear tidy and quasi-scientific when realities are so much messier (Charmaz, 2006). For example, at one point there was a node under Doxa referring to beliefs about English teaching; on subsequent readings all the transcript extracts appeared to be more closely related to teacher subject knowledge and therefore better attributed to what I had named as ‘professional capital’ under the capital node. Similarly, under habitus a node named ‘Teacher as Judge’ was later removed because choosing to code data at this node appeared to say more about the researcher as judge of the teacher and it had unfairly represented what the teachers were saying when their comments were taken in the wider context of the rest of the interview. The movement of data from one node to another, and the decision to create or delete nodes, rests on the researcher’s confidence that they are best equipped to ‘see’ what is in the data. An apparently simple sorting act was in fact fraught with ethical considerations and carried with it a powerful responsibility to make decisions that I hoped were open, honest and which honoured the promises made to the interviewees to represent their stories faithfully (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005).

A final useful function of CAQDAS is the model-making facility which allows the researcher to think conceptually while trying to find patterns in the data (Wickham & Woods, 2005) and there is evidence throughout this thesis of diagrammatic representation of the thinking related to both commentary on existing literature and analysis of the data. The potential for graphic display of a range of concepts was valuable both in terms of developing an understanding of the themes emerging from the data and as a tool for representing that thinking at the point of theory generation. Towards the final stages of data analysis the separate functions of Nvivo – coding, memoing, note-taking and model drawing – were used interchangeably and concurrently so that each was informing the modification of the others. In this way, preparation for analytical commentary was supported by a network of theorising grounded in the data and infused with the philosophical framework

A core lesson from the processes described in this chapter was that qualitative data analysis is remarkably time-consuming and profoundly arduous for the researcher (Basit, 2003). The choice of software to support the work undoubtedly facilitated the analysis and probably saved time, but

it did not remove the hard work associated with the ‘dynamic, intuitive and creative process of inductive reasoning’ (p. 143).

Summary:

In this chapter the reader was introduced to the group of teachers interviewed by the researcher, to the procedures for selection and gaining consent, and to the experience of interviews over a two year period. The process through which data were analysed was made explicit. Discussion illustrated how the interview data were coded using Bourdieusian constructs and there was acknowledgement of the difficulties inherent in doing this. Analysis of the use of CAQDAS as a research tool was presented in order to make clear potential threats to validity and to illustrate the researcher’s awareness of how these might be circumvented. The following chapters seek to generate theory by applying Bourdieusian analysis to the interpretation of the interview data.

SECTION 3 : Analysis of the Interview Data

Chapter 6: The Power of Linguistic Fields and Their Impact on Teachers' Pedagogic Habitus

In this chapter teachers' responses to the field are explored and there is reference to the nodes relating to subdivisions of the field. Given the inter-dependence of other parts of Bourdieu's logic of practice, discussion also focuses where relevant on issues of habitus, doxa and capital which vary according to the individuals discussed. Diagrammatic representation supports the readers' understanding of how the various parts of the teachers' experience intersect and relate to each other. Teacher interviews are referred to using numbers to indicate whether extracts and references are to interviews at the beginning (e.g. Nicola 1) or end of the school year (e.g. Nicola 2). Claire and Patricia were interviewed three times because both were in the pilot study, thus there are three possible dates for their comments which are as follows: (1) Spring 07, (2) Autumn 07, (3) Summer 08.

Curricular and policy-related influences on the linguistic field

In chapter 1 the field for the teaching of English to both L1 and L2 learners was mapped in terms of curriculum policy and documentation, and it is with this focus that the analysis starts.

Dialogue with the teachers often touched on the ways in which they used existing guidance for their teaching; both as a result of direct questioning and because both explicit and implicit reference to the strategies related to English teaching underpinned many of the interviews.

When coding the interviews for aspects of the field, four nodes captured teachers' references to the broad decisions they made about the curriculum in their classrooms and these were named 'policy-related', 'school-related', 'age-related' and 'attainment-driven'. It was not always easy to code separately for 'policy-related' and 'school-related' because for some teachers there was not necessarily a difference between the two, indicating the extent to which a national curriculum had become habituated into school ethos (Moore, et al., 2002). For some teachers reference to policy was explicit and there was a sense in which their choices were consciously related to what they knew of the most recent guidance in the PNS; particularly in relation to the teaching of speaking and listening.

Alison (Figure 6.1) and Nicola - working together in one school – all reflected on their use of the units of planning within the revised framework for literacy and on their use of speaking and listening in particular which had received a renewed emphasis when compared to the older guidance in the NLS. Also in the same school Claire, teaching using *Practice Guidance for the Early Years Foundation Stage (DCSF, 2007)* with her class of Reception children, referred repeatedly to her use of a talk-based curriculum: although in her case the influence on her thinking about her interpretation of policy was that this was good practice for early years rather than that she was following external guidance necessarily. All were aware that the modelling of spoken English benefitted both their L1 and L2 learners, and they welcomed the shift in emphasis to oracy that the revised framework had brought with it. Furthermore, several of the group referred to what was at the time perceived as the ‘new curriculum’ (Rose, 2009) which they saw as characterised by a move towards more emphasis on talk and on creativity. Thus in this school, at the time of the interviews, there was a sense that policy was moving in a direction that would support either English or foreign-born language learners, and the adoption of revised curricular materials for the teaching of English was viewed positively.

Figure 6.1 Alison and Rosie talking about the shape of the curriculum in their schools

Alison 1: *With the new strategy, the new framework, very much speaking and listening now before writing. There's lots of that to do. Making sure the children have, I don't mean rules, like a check list of things to follow for each genre or, we have speaking and listening rules across the school, three main rules that we use.*

Rosie 2: *We feel very much that the children making the transition from key stage one to key stage two, they are almost catapulted into a very structured key stage two approach to learning, which for year three children No way is that appropriate. So we have kind of put the foot down and said we want to change this, and we are going to have a very key stage one approach to literacy, changing our time table certainly for the first term.*

In Rosie's case (Figure 6.1), her school had taken a decision to modify its curriculum for children in her year group (Year 3) in order to better support their writing development. In her commentary there was a sense of confidence that her school was able to make decisions at school level with reference to policy, rather than being driven by policy. Thus, she demonstrated

evidence in her habitus of the ‘principled pragmatist’ (Moore, et al., 2002) who felt that curricular decisions were taken through a sense of belief rather than being shaped by national expectations. This differed from the much more experienced Peter whose relationship with the curriculum for English was both more knowing and less comfortable; reference to this tension in response to curriculum control is made later in this chapter. Notable also is the contrast between Rosie’s and Alison’s comments which may well reflect the difference in timings of the interviews. Alison’s interview in Autumn 2007 suggests a growing assurance with the PNS, whereas by summer 2009 Rosie’s school were voicing confidence at whole curriculum level. Obviously these may have been influenced by in-school differences, but, as mentioned in chapter 1, there was a sense in which by 2009 schools were looking forward to a more holistically-shaped curriculum with a focus on spoken English that potentially supported both L1 and L2 learners.

While some teachers clearly saw where policy shaped their schools’ curricular responses, others did not mention it. In Patricia’s school both she and Gina spoke of the curriculum as if they had agency to make choices and to choose appropriate styles of pedagogy; however, Patricia was well aware that the pressure of the need to show particular levels of progress and attainment was something she as a Headteacher could not ignore. The flow of discussion in their school was very much centred on the work they had done for their community of Polish children and it could be that mention of the PNS seemed irrelevant in the context of pedagogy for L2 partly because Patricia’s experience with L2 learners was considerable. Gina however was inexperienced in L2 teaching, but even in her discussion of her work with L1 learners she made no reference to national guidance for the teaching of English. Similarly the NQTs in the urban setting, Kathy and Jo, made only limited mention of curriculum materials: both spoke in terms of the choices they felt that they made, and about their use of popular teaching materials for writing (Corbett, 2001, 2003), perhaps mirroring Rosie’s positive sense of choice that may have been associated with being new to the profession.

Thus, there was something of a variation across the group between teachers who matched their discussion of their planning with the external field of the national curriculum or PNS, and those who spoke as if the school and the classroom dictated what they chose to do. This discrepancy

between the explicit and what may have been implicit in the interviews is potentially attributable to several causes. Firstly, some teachers may see making explicit reference to the strategies for the teaching of English as unnecessary because they have assumed a generalised and tacit understanding of the use of them to govern English teaching for either first or second language learners (Luke, 2008). Secondly, the group habitus in any one school may be one that does not question use of the strategies and adopts them without question (OfSTED, 2009) , or, more positively, feels confident and able to assimilate them into a school-based pedagogical approach (Flynn & Stainthorp, 2006). Thirdly, where teachers do refer explicitly to them, they work in communities of practice where explicit investment in the external field is considered appropriate; as in Claire's school. Fourthly, the school or the teacher may be engaged in some sense of discord with a policy-shaped curriculum, and this raises mention of national expectations to the surface in dialogue: to some extent this was true of Peter as an individual and of Rosie in her school. Finally, it may simply be the case that some teachers are less aware of the external field – as expressed through a national curriculum for English –as a defining influence on classroom practice. In this way, Moore's fears that teachers are managed unconsciously by external pressures rather than internal beliefs appear realised in teacher habitus for some of the participants.

However, there were areas where habitus in relation to the curriculum appeared on the surface and this was in relation to teachers' interpretation of age-related expectations and of the curriculum as attainment driven. Where the curriculum is both taught and tested in English, this meant that children's success or weakness in spoken and written English effectively determined their success in almost all aspects of their learning. Experience of these particular tensions in the field varied across the group. Variations were quite clearly divisible between those teachers who taught older children (Nicola Y6 and Peter Y5) and those who taught in Key Stage 1 (Dee, Claire, Gina and Jo), with teachers in lower Key Stage 2 expressing something in between (Alison, Kathy and Rosie). Both Peter and Nicola felt some sense of mismatch between what they knew their L2 learners needed and what the curriculum expectations were for children in Years 5 and 6. This was not however expressed as a critique of curricular expectations, but appeared much more related to their own feelings about their own professional capital. Where the field presented them with what felt like an impossible task – to teach newly-arrived L2

learners to pass tests with scores matching national averages – their professional habitus was challenged (Figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2 Teacher anxiety in relation to age-related curricular expectations for children with EAL in upper Key Stage 2

Nicola 1: *But obviously the barrier I see for them, the difficulty is the acquisition of vocabulary for them to be able to achieve the level they are in things like maths and science, because you know, that goes across language barriers, but you can only succeed in your SATS test if you can understand the English language fully.*

Peter 2 : *She's able to engage in things to a greater extent but I still realise when we get into some subjects that one, she may not have grasped what's really being asked and challenged of her and she can't express in a more sophisticated way her response, her thoughts and reflective response or be challenged again on it. So it's definitely a significant conceptual gap between what she can do with something and what another child in the class can do with it and what she's capable of.*

The anxiety that Polish children should be able to do well, but that the test-oriented curriculum militated against this, was not something expressed by teachers of younger children, indicating perhaps that fields for teachers are also related to the year group they are teaching in a primary school. Teachers in Year 3 for example (Kathy and Alison) did share anxieties relating to their children's capacity to operate at age-expected levels, but there was a perception that children had time to develop their English sufficiently while still in the nurturing environment of a primary school. The sense of nurture in teachers' habitus was particularly dominant in the interviews, and this may have affected either their sense of anxiety that there was no time for the children to succeed in English, or their sense of comfort that they did have time for English language acquisition. For Claire in particular, teaching in a Reception class, there was reference to a desire for her Polish boy pupil to be happy, and a sense of excitement at his development of fluency in English. Her view of the curriculum was one dictated by an early years philosophy of talk and play as tools for learning, and this may have freed her to think more positively about progress than her peers teaching older children (Figure 6.3).

Figure 6.3 Teacher confidence in relation to age-related curricular expectations for children with EAL in the early years

Claire 2: *It's much easier in early years rooms as much of the work is through speaking, so it's through absorption really. I mean I don't set up say, ok you're Polish, I'm going to teach you English, whereas further up the school I can see why they might have a problem, because you are right into the Tudors or something, and if you don't know the English for it...*

Undoubtedly teacher confidence, or otherwise, in their perceptions of how the curricular field shaped their choices in the classroom for either their L1 or L2 learners will have been dictated by a range of variables. As discussed above, one of these will have been the age of the children taught, but other strands of habitus that appeared relevant during coding were most likely related to issues of experience with L2 learners. Taking on one side the issue of anxiety as part of teacher habitus already aired, it was also apparent that for some of the teachers their lack of experience with L2 learners, combined with a somewhat process-based interpretation of the curriculum, meant that their interview responses did not demonstrate a conscious awareness of the external shaping of their classroom choices.

Although discussion of teacher subject knowledge is covered in the next chapter, variations in coding relating to a focus on processes are valid for commentary in the context of curricular field as well. The NQTs, Rosie Jo and Kathy, in their responses to questions about what they did in terms of their teaching of L1 learners, tended towards description of activities; their comments were coded as showing a habitus that was 'process-focussed' rather than demonstrating an understanding of why they made particular choices for tasks. This was in quite stark contrast to most of the more experienced teachers who were better able to define their L1 practice in more detail and who were not coded at this node. Perhaps this suggests that anxiety about teachers' rote adoption of a curriculum for English (Earl, et al., 2003; OfSTED, 2010; Willows, 2002) needed to be tempered with an acknowledgement of the teaching context in which any teachers observed who inspired such comments may have been working. Furthermore, it was also evident from the interviews that the NQTs developed a broader sense of curriculum aims between their first and second interviews; Kathy's second interview did not appear at this node at all. The exception to this was Jo who was teaching in a Reception class and whose discourse may have been affected by her school's interpretation of guidance for the Foundation Stage as activity-led.

Teachers who were inexperienced in teaching children with EAL were coded at the professional capital-related node which illustrated where teachers considered that their L1 curriculum planning was no different from their L2 curriculum planning. All of the NQTs appeared again at this particular node, but interestingly the teacher who claimed that her L1 teaching mirrored her L2 teaching most frequently was Gina who had more than 20 years of experience but none of this with EAL. Nicola's appearance at this node was in reference to some comments she made that were contradicted by others showing that she had consciously adapted curricular materials for L2 learners; this contradictory response is discussed in the next chapter.

Gina shared with the NQTs a lack of experience with L2 learners and a belief that she made no changes to the curriculum for her Polish children. That said, her commentary was also contradictory because in her second interview she described a shift in her teaching to accommodate more speaking and listening. This possibly indicates that when faced with children whose needs are different for the first time, teachers are quite likely to try and make what they already do for their L1 learners fit the learning needs of their L2 learners; they may also have a sense that modifications to their practice are too slight to be described as 'different'. Or perhaps teachers are so unaccustomed to describing their practice that they do not see differences even when presented with experiences which it might be assumed would generate adaptation of teaching (Knight & Saunders, 1999). Peter was not coded against this node although he self-identified as someone with limited subject knowledge for EAL despite some early career experience in ethnically diverse settings. Thus it is difficult to conclude that there is any one determining factor that leads to one teacher adapting their interpretation of the curriculum and another not (Day, et al., 2006). The complexity of this issue is taken up again in relation to teacher subject knowledge in chapter 7.

Whatever the responses of any of the teachers to how they used the curriculum for English in their classrooms, the absence of any comment related to their use of documentation related to L2 acquisition was notable: this when each was directly asked if they used them. The documentation released specifically to support the teaching of L2 learners as discussed in chapter 1 was as invisible in the interviews with the group of teachers as it appears to have been in other arena.

With the exception of Frances, working at county level, who referred repeatedly to PNS related guidance for new arrivals and advanced bilingual learners (DfES, 2005b), all of the other teachers interviewed were commonly puzzled when asked whether they used any of them. Not only did they not use them to support their teaching, they were not apparently aware of their existence. In several cases teachers referred to how busy they were and that this prevented them from having time to engage with the materials. In other cases it was clear that teachers found support from colleagues was most important to them and this was defined during analysis into a series of nodes related to ‘learning communities’.

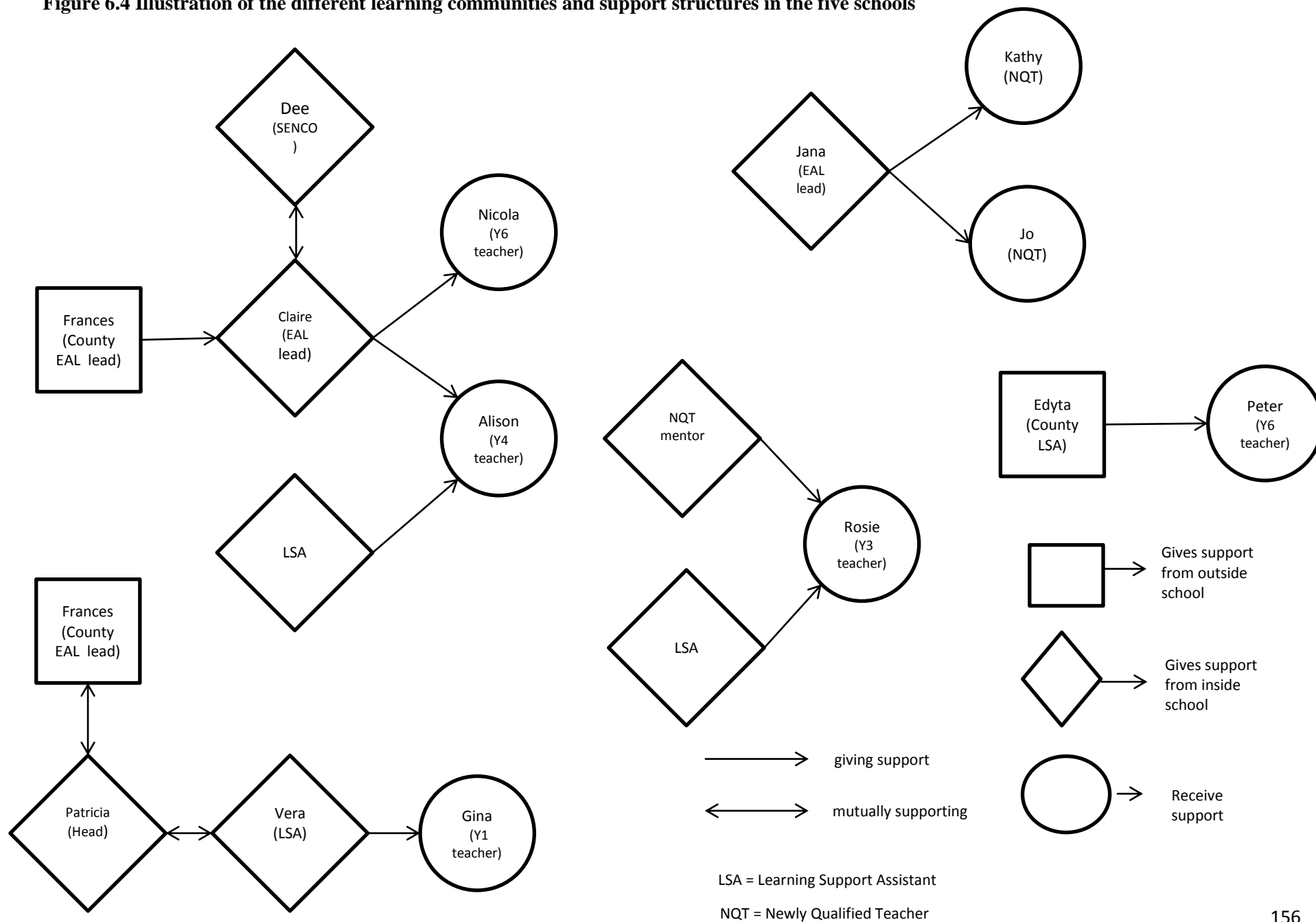
Thus, the considerable number of documents released between 2003 and 2009 to support the teaching of L2 learners was not, in the case of this group, in evidence in practice in the classroom. It is possible that teachers consider the generalising of the teaching of English as an acceptable norm (Luke, 2008); or that they are so overwhelmed with curricular material that they can take time only to engage with the core documentation against which their children are assessed (OfSTED, 2010); or that when faced with the challenge of the unfamiliar they are more likely to turn to the support of colleagues than to seek understanding as individuals through reading. The teachers, with the exception of Peter, all referred repeatedly to those colleagues with whom they worked, and this is explored in the next section.

Communities of Practice/Learning Communities in Linguistic Fields

‘Learning communities’ was captured as a node that presented throughout the interviews with the teachers and this was divisible into four types of community named: ‘teachers supporting teachers’, ‘teachers supporting children’, ‘children supporting children and teachers’, ‘support beyond the school’. These headings might seem somewhat self-apparent when considering schools and teachers, but their relevance to how the teachers managed their Polish children’s arrival and language acquisition was signalled clearly in all teacher discourse. The headings might be interpreted as arena within which learning communities operated, although of course there was some overlap in the ways that one community might need to interact with another. For example, support from beyond the school might support one teacher who in turn supported other teachers and these teachers were then in a position to support their children. Generalisation of

this type is possible for some of this discussion, but it is necessary at the outset to show how the learning communities differed between the different schools (Figure 6.4).

Figure 6.4 Illustration of the different learning communities and support structures in the five schools



The diagrams at Figure 6.4 indicate that the circumstances for each of the teachers interviewed were quite different. To some extent the diagrams represent the practical features of each school community, but they also indicate the way in which teachers positioned themselves unconsciously in relation to the field of support when talking in interview. There are obvious differences related to the fact that in some schools more teachers were interviewed (Claire's and Patricia's schools in particular) but there are also some more subtle differences that were discernible in the ways teachers talked about themselves and their colleagues. Attempts were made to run text searches in NVivo which might identify particular patterns in what the teachers said about their learning communities, but they proved relatively unhelpful. This may suggest simply that human discourse is too complex to analyse in such a primitive way, but also, perhaps teachers transmit their sense of personal and school-shared identities variably in interviews. Therefore, as interviewer, my interpretation of what the teachers intended to share with me rested as much on inference, in my search for meaning, as it did some kind of literal 'evidence' in the transcripts (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005).

In chapter 1 the notion of communities of practice was discussed in relation to the work of Wenger, and I indicated some ambivalence in the use of this term. Thus, analysis of teacher responses is interpreted more in terms of learning communities (Wubbles, 2007), but the term 'community of practice' is still useful to draw on at times; particularly when describing relationships that extend beyond simple teacher-teacher or teacher-child interactions. A further layer of complexity is added if considering the discussion in chapters 1 and 3 which suggested that teachers are not necessarily consciously aware of the ways they or other colleagues interact in relation to each other, or to the shifting field of practice or to policy. This means that while I have interpreted what the teachers were describing to me as learning communities or communities of practice, it is not necessarily the case that the teachers themselves saw these relationships so explicitly. Rather than complicating interpretation further at this point, in summary, I am acknowledging that my perceptions of how the teachers operated within their learning communities was not necessarily their interpretation, but also that operating as a learning community is so much part of teachers' working practice that it is unlikely they stop to think analytically about how such a practice operates structurally. Indeed, such an observation is appropriate taking in to account a Bourdieusian interpretation of their working situation: that is,

that the teachers would have been unlikely to be aware of where their views were shaped by the group habitus (Bourdieu, 1990a).

So, bearing in mind that the learning communities shaped in Figure 6.4 are the subject of interpretation, a key part of the analysis leading to this interpretation was the recognition that teachers' engagement with their learning communities was variable both within and between different communities. This appeared to relate to a number of factors which were principally: the level of experience the school had in nurturing children with EAL; the professional experience of the teacher; the sense in which the teacher was either a giver or a receiver of support and their response to this as active or passive; the perception that the teacher had of how supported they were. Thus, supporting relationships varied from Peter who seemed isolated other than his 10 hours contact time from the Polish bilingual support assistant Edyta, to Alison who recognised support in the school's history of admitting children with EAL and in specific individuals such as an experienced LSA and Claire who was the EAL co-ordinator.

Learning communities also varied in terms of differing levels of engagement that teachers noted they had with colleagues from either in school or beyond the community. Finally, they varied in terms of whether the professional capital held by more experienced members of the school community was characterised specifically by linguistic capital which translated into understanding of how to teach L2 learners. Something that was interesting in all schools apart from Peter's was the role played by support staff: in both Claire's and Patricia's schools for example, the LSAs played a key role in supporting L2 learners because of both their experience and their commitment to these children in particular. This made them an invaluable resource and key players in supporting the less experienced teachers in their workplace communities.

Using Claire's school as an example where the learning community appeared strong, this was exemplified in a number of ways. Claire had a long-established relationship with Frances, the county lead for bilingual support, and therefore felt relatively confident in her capacity to draw on resources beyond the school to create structures which supported both the children and the teachers with L2 acquisition. She shared a long history at the school with Dee who also had a confident habitus because of her role as SENCO and her sense of herself as professionally

experienced in teaching L2 learners. Long-term experience was also shared with several LSAs in the school who worked alongside Claire to lead after-school homework clubs for L2 learners and with Alison to support her in her apprenticeship as a teacher of L2 learners. In addition the school appeared to have a community sense which underpinned any aspect of practice and of interaction with the practitioner community or the children and their parents (Figure 6.5). The extracts below show how Claire's sense of her school as a community school was borne out to some extent by Dee's description of her mentoring role in modeling practice for another teacher and in Alison's recognition of herself as lucky to be in an environment where she had the expertise of more experienced colleagues to draw on.

Figure 6.5 Teachers' expression of their learning community in one school

Claire 2: *Because we are a community school and we do have that community feel, I think that we support each other. I think that's how we get around it; I think we are a very supportive school to each other.*

Alison 1: *I was very lucky at the beginning of the year because I had a very good LSA who would work – because I had never really worked with non-English children before..... It was new to me but my LSA had worked with children before, so she was very good at working alongside me and thinking about things we could do to maybe make it a bit easier.*

Dee 2: *So this afternoon she came in to watch a lesson that I did, and she watched how I introduced something and then I get them to talk in pairs, and she said that's the difference, because they are talking to one other person*

However, the existence of a supportive learning community did not necessarily mean active engagement with all parts of that community all of the time. In her second interview Alison noted that this same LSA worked with her Polish children in a teaching set for English that Alison did not teach, and she therefore felt less able to comment on what they received in class than if she had been teaching them herself. This was another indication of the way in which the pedagogical field may be marked out along age-related lines whereby children in Key Stage 2 are often set for the teaching of some subjects: thus one teacher's Polish children may well have been taught for English by someone who was not their class teacher. This assumed passivity – that is, some teachers' perception that they felt unable to comment on children's development of English because they saw English teaching as synonymous with English language development - is returned to in chapter 7. There were also other ways in which some teachers

took an approach to the use of their LSAs to support their L2 learners which might be described as passive. Rosie, who clearly appreciated the support given by her mentor and her LSA admitted that she did not really know what the LSA did to support her Polish child when she took her out of the classroom (Figure 6.6). Gina also, despite being an experienced teacher in other ways, was happy to let Vera take her children with EAL out of the classroom and act as their principle teacher.

Figure 6.6 Inexperienced teachers' 'passivity' as part of learning communities for children with EAL

Rosie 1: *As a class teacher maybe I should be more involved in that, but she (the LSA) just seems to be so competent at doing it, I have been reluctant to sort of get involved and sort of say well I'd rather you did this, because it seems in my mind, it just seems that actually she's doing the right things anyway.*

Gina 1: *We sometimes the week before, if we have got a big book, my classroom assistant will take the EAL children out to read the book first, before we share it as a class, because I think that gives them a bit of an upper hand and they talk. She says it's lovely because I've got two Polish children, I've got two Hindi children a little Turkish girl and a French Arabic, and she takes them all outside away from my class and she says they have a lovely chat and they talk endlessly about what they can see, not just the words, and she says it's really worthwhile.*

Arguably this might have meant that the support mechanisms in either school could potentially deskill teachers if not used in ways that enhanced the apprentice teachers' under-developed understanding of how to teach L2 learners. This observation captures elements of the usefulness of using Wenger's community of practice for workplace analysis or Rogoff's planes of professional support: however, Rogoff in particular assumes that behaviours in the workplace are automatically focused on progress, when in fact what is more likely at play here is that these teachers' inexperience is to some extent being compounded by supportive and well-intentioned experienced practitioners. Thus, a more useful insight here would be provided by Bourdieu who would see this maintenance of habitus in the face of change as a predictable part of the human experience (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). On the other hand, it is also true to say that by their second interviews both Rosie and Gina showed evidence of having moved on from what might be described as relative passivity: Rosie had become more aware of what support her Polish child was receiving and Gina spoke of team-teaching rather than separation from her LSA.

Therefore, what might have seemed like a passive habitus at the beginning, had evolved during the year to something more confident, and engaged with, and learning from the support on offer. A Bourdieusian view of this situation is useful, but the determinism inherent in the logic of practice is not always helpful when attempting to keep an open mind in observing behaviours. Imagine for example, how negative the interpretation of the challenges for these teachers might have been had the second interviews not taken place.

The systems for development of teachers' confidence with teaching children with EAL in Christina's, Gina's and Rosie's schools challenged the stereotype of what one might suppose is available in terms of a knowledge base for teaching children with EAL in a county setting. Although each of the schools had relatively small numbers of EAL children when compared with many inner-city settings, there was a confidence in their senior management teams which fostered the sharing of professional capital within teaching teams. In the case of Patricia and Claire each was actively engaged in research related to EAL and this informed their practice in a way that underpinned their confidence to make decisions for their children. It also informed the way in which their schools supported newly arrived non-English speaking children despite operating with scant resources when compared to city-type local authorities. Both worked closely with Frances and were well-versed in using the learning community beyond the school gates as offered by the county advisory team. In this way the schools and the local authority demonstrated a strong sense of community of practice and shared endeavour. This was underpinned in the main by both schools and teachers assuming a principle of inclusion which acted as the driver for their desire to assimilate children from other nations or of differing ability; this response to 'difference' is discussed in more detail in chapter 8. Furthermore, the engagement of children as part of the learning community is discussed in both of the following chapters in terms of the relationship between children as L2 learners and the ownership of linguistic capital.

This discussion of learning communities has made only limited reference to Peter and Nicola, and this is because they emerged as more isolated than the other interviewees. In Nicola's case it is clear that in practice she was not isolated, but the nature of discourse with her gave the impression of someone working alone. She did acknowledge the strength of the experiences in

her school community, and that she had drawn on these, but her narrative had an underlying theme of anxiety that she might not be able to do the best by her children (Figure 6.7). Similarly Peter made no reference to anyone with whom he might work in his school, only to the limited support he was able to access from the authority from Edyta. It is perhaps no coincidence that both of these teachers were in upper Key Stage 2 classes; it appeared to be the case that their schools focused learning support into the classrooms of younger children and that the pressure of attainment expectations embodied in the KS 2 SATs made them feel that they were solely responsible for the progress of their Polish children.

At her second interview Nicola was very pleased with her Polish pupils who had achieved well in the tests, but earlier in the year she shared an anxiety common to Peter's interviews that her best might not be good enough. In both cases, neither appeared to feel that they shared responsibility with others for their children's outcomes and this appeared burdensome for them. Thus, despite their experience in the classroom, their professional habitus was fractured by the worry of failure; this fear will have had some relationship with their sense of their own and their children's linguistic capital and this theme is pursued in the next chapter.

Figure 6.7 Feelings of isolation and anxiety in upper KS 2 teachers

Nicola 1: *I'm not saying that what I do for them is the best, I do the best I can given all the other demands and needs and staff that we have available to us*

Peter 2: *....she is daydreaming or something else, just looking out the window – and I know that's a situation that's there and I try and provide something meaningful for her one way or another throughout the whole day...*

The feelings expressed by Nicola and Peter were also related to limited time and resources to respond to the needs of their L2 learners. Resource limitations emerged as a stress point in analysis of the linguistic field for the teachers, and this is discussed in the next section relating to tensions.

Tensions in the Linguistic Field

Tensions were identified as being related to limitations on resources, as already mentioned; to those teachers who lacked professional and linguistic capital either due to inexperience generally or inexperience with L2 learners; to those in leadership positions in terms of their need to manage the support of both teachers and children; and to philosophical differences where teachers felt constrained by expectations of the curriculum or of their senior management teams. Furthermore, there was an underlying tension created by teachers' natural habitus as 'carer' and their feelings of inadequacy in being able to provide effectively for their children. This last point is something that is relevant to many strands of the data and therefore it will not receive detailed discussion in this section.

It is important to clarify that although the above categories were extracted as features of tensions in the field, these categories were not tensions for all of the teachers; more, they emerged as tensions for enough of the group to be worthy of exploration. The differences in how teachers' responded to the shift in the field defined by the impact of migration on low-density EAL settings, are testament to the fact that differences in individual habitus might have the power to either protect, modify or even endanger teachers' sense of self in the face of change. Taking the example of tensions relating to lack of experience, both Gina and Alison had very limited prior experience of teaching children with L2, but had sufficient confidence in their identities as teachers of English to respond relatively assertively to new expectations of their teaching. Conversely, Peter and Nicola appeared to have some insight into where they felt there were limitations in their professional capital and this bred a feeling of tension as discussed above. The NQTs - Rosie, Kathy and Jo – were keenly aware of their lack of professional capital and this was a tension for them, but they were also at a point in their careers where they were 'allowed' to feel inexperienced because that is the reality for teachers at the start of their professional lives.

The impact of the field on teachers' habitus was at its most clear when examining the discomfort teachers felt rather than the more positive aspects of their experience. Their disquiet also appeared to indicate some opportunity for a shift in habitus, albeit one that did not necessarily feel welcome some of the time. Thus, some of the teachers demonstrated that where their habitus

and field were not aligned there was the capacity for change (Bourdieu, 1990a; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Those in leadership positions possibly felt this disjuncture more of the time: both Claire and Patricia for example noted their need to support those teachers who found coping with the change in linguistic field very difficult and they therefore had to engage with the shift in expectations consciously in their roles.

Teachers' positive capacity to manage change and to adapt to circumstance lies in some contrast to Bourdieu's notion of pedagogic action as contributing to power relations in the classroom by maintaining dominant discourses (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). In the case of the schools observed, relations between the teachers appeared largely defined by co-operation in order to better support the chances of the children with EAL and this did not necessarily reflect what might be interpreted as a negative aspect of professional relations or the inappropriate use of power. Patricia openly acknowledged her understanding that her role as Headteacher allowed her some autonomy in managing the needs of the school's L2 learners, but there was not an indication of her using this other than to the advantage of the children and teachers. Both she and Claire talked of a need to develop a shared understanding in the teachers of how to support L2 learners, but this was evidence of them drawing on their more detailed subject knowledge for the teaching of L2, rather than any suggestion that they wanted to control the field in a particular way. Admittedly this interpretation is subject to my own history in education with a leadership role, and as such may reflect my own 'discovered reality' rather than that of the teachers (Charmaz, 2000).

Where tensions in the field did bear some relationship to power, or powerlessness, was where teachers felt some philosophical differences with what they were being asked to do. This was not apparent in many of the interviews, perhaps because teachers do not expect to hold personal beliefs in English schools (Moore, 2004) and, where it did appear, the circumstances were very different (Figure 6.8). For Peter, philosophical difference was expressed in terms of his discomfort with a curriculum that controlled his classroom practice from the centre. Tension was apparent in interview even in response to talking at all about this subject, because of his sense that this was not something he should be admitting to. Thus, for Peter, an awareness of symbolic violence in terms of pedagogical control was strong and it potentially weakened his capacity to

respond professionally to the needs of his Polish child in ways that he might have felt appropriate.

Figure 6.8 Teachers' expression of philosophical differences

Peter 2 : *Mm, well I suppose they see education as a prescriptive thing and I was trained not to think in that sort of way and you know, I've got to follow the system as whatever the system is basically. But perhaps I do come from a time mentally when the thinking was slightly different and the bias was different.....Oh yes, you've got to do what you're told to do these days.*

Kathy 1: *And the policy here which is quite interesting is if you hear children speaking in Polish on the corridors, is "English please." Which is quite interesting because I also came in with (names) to Polish school on Saturday to have a look, and they have very long play times and we said "why do they have longer playtimes?", and it's for them to relax, to speak in their language and chill out basically. So that almost goes in a sort of slight contradiction to the "English please" in school.*

Kathy alluded to an area of disagreement with her school's policy in that she was not really happy with their decision to require Polish children to speak only English in school (Figure 6.8); this sat uneasily with her understanding that when the children were at Polish school on Saturdays they were encouraged to speak a lot of Polish. She was careful not to speak critically of her school, describing the policy as 'interesting', but her discomfort reflected a practitioner having to practice something which she was unsure of. Kathy's school was a high-density EAL setting and it is perhaps surprising that philosophical differences relating to the teaching of EAL should be problematic for an NQT in such a setting, but this may be evidence of her newly-trained identity as being one that held on to beliefs with which she might have been imbued in her training. This of itself demonstrates that not all new teachers are necessarily the unquestioning practitioners that research might present us with. The fact that Kathy and Peter were at opposite ends of their careers, but each able to recognise times when their personal doxa clashed with the group habitus of the school is an indication that teachers' individual spirit can be as much a part of their working lives as the requirement for them to conform. This of itself suggests that teachers may well combine both a reflective and a pragmatic habitus (Moore, 2004), and that the tension between the two might further complicate their responses to change in the field.

A significant proportion of the interviews were coded at nodes relating to a shortfall in resources: these were limitations on time, funding or classroom support in the shape of either people or materials. With the exception of Jo who may have felt well supported in her Reception class and as an NQT, all of the teachers made reference to a deficit in some aspect of provision for EAL as being problematic. There was a strong sense of the linguistic field as having been stretched by the speed and numbers of new arrivals including Polish children in the years just before and during data collection. In some cases this led to commentary indicating beliefs that the Polish children were demanding and a drain on resources, but chapter 8's exploration of teachers' response to migration shows this to be just one strand of a much more positive picture overall in terms of the reception of new arrivals. What is interesting in the data is that within the three areas of resources identified as limited, coding divides the teachers into three groups of different characters.

Most of the group of teachers commented on the problem of limited resources, making this a densely populated node among nodes relating to field, with Kathy in particular talking a great deal about her need for more support generally. This included her expression of frustration with the support for NQTs relating to the teaching EAL in her local authority which she had found too generalised to managing cultural difference, rather than linguistic difference, when what she wanted was introduction to something practical with which to resource her teaching. Rosie also mentioned frustration at not having the time to look for materials that might help her because just surviving an NQT year was so demanding: in fact all of the NQTs were noticeably tired at their second interviews and all three expressed relief at simply having got through the year, albeit knowing that there were things they could have done better for any of their children.

A separate node was used to identify those teachers commenting on lack of funding and the names clustered at this node all carried leadership responsibilities with the exception of Peter. Peter referred to his problems in identifying where to find funding, but by his second interview there had been some progress with this in terms of the support he received from Edyta. Patricia, Claire and Dee saw things from a different perspective as managers of funds for L2 learners or learners with SEN (Dee) in their schools. Where Patricia felt anxious was in a lack of funding to support a suddenly growing population of L2 learners and the shortfall in what the school might

provide in terms of either physical or human resources; particularly because she was managing support for an ever-increasing number of languages but with only a small number of children speaking any of these languages (Figure 6.9). Claire and Dee also referred repeatedly to the problems of a funding shortfall which was directly attributable to the sudden rise in L2 learners and a subsequent unsatisfactory strain on the budget already allocated to children with special educational needs (Figure 6.9).

Figure 6.9 Tensions related to funding for teachers in leadership roles

Patricia 1: *It changed dramatically particularly over the last two years. My biggest problem is so many languages but not a lot of children for each language, so it puts quite a lot pressure on you as a school and as a staff as well, because you're not talking about a big group of children who can then support each other*

Claire 2: *Also you know some languages are free and others you have to buy into them; if you don't have the money in the school to buy into it, you don't get the support. So then it's a drain on the special needs budget, because obviously those children are not necessarily special needs children, but they do need the support.*

Dee 1: *I think we could do with some more funding, definitely if we had more funding then I could have some more support in the classroom.If I'm going to take it out of my SEN budget, I have to justify that and you know, I have to put that against the other needs of children who have got special needs....and there isn't enough funding for EAL*

The anxiety surrounding finance is important when taken in the context of such supportive learning communities as were apparent in the schools where these leaders worked. It demonstrates that although the schools were well placed to support staff in terms of sharing experience with the inexperienced and mentoring their apprentice teachers, they did not feel that the children received all the support that they really needed in order to make progress academically or linguistically. Both schools represented by teachers in this section of the group had used their 10 hours per child from the local authority as creatively as they could, as had Peter in his school, but, although grateful for the quality of this support from a bilingual assistant, they all commented that the children needed more. Arguably any professional might always feel that they need more finance or resources, but there was a consistency in commentary surrounding funding, regardless of the level of expertise in the schools, that indicates that this felt like a major challenge in the linguistic field for all of the teachers.

The interviews with Frances echoed the frustrations of the leadership teams in school but on a wider scale because she was dealing with the need to operate within a limited budget at county level (Figure 6.10). She was facing a twin-tension of limited funding to deal with an increase in need as both teachers in schools unaccustomed to EAL and parents of the newly arrived children sought support from the team of specialist teachers and bilingual assistants.

Figure 6.10 Commentary from the bilingual support team leader on tensions relating to limitations on funding

Frances 1: *It's a very short time and the difficulty is that support time finishes and then they're left then to kind of get on really, and maybe that's when things will slide. I mean sometimes parents as well, send back a comment to say "Please don't take the support away because it's been so valuable, how can you take it away so quickly".*

I was in a school a few weeks ago, a village school, and 9 Polish pupils arrived all at once, and it was pandemonium there. The SENCO had arrived from a different school where they had experience of EAL learners, and so she knew what to do; but it was panic stations, absolute panics stations there. And a real sense of "what's somebody going to do for us?", rather than "what can we put in place ourselves?".

There was evidence in later interviews with Frances that the county bilingual support team had developed a range of resources to address the sudden increase in languages in the region, and there was also evidence of some tempering of the initial shock from schools experiencing linguistic difference for the first time. However, Frances' comments in Figure 6.10 demonstrate the breadth of the linguistic field and the multiple ways in which migration impacts on schools, on teachers and on families.

A third grouping within the tensions strand, and relating to resources, was the mention by many teachers of their lack of time to deal adequately with the needs of their Polish and other EAL learners; this was coded as 'busy habitus'. This expression of not having enough time was not evident in the interviews with the NQTs, presumably because an NQT expects to feel that they have very little time, or perhaps because a newly qualified teacher is not yet aware of how much they should be doing and so are unaware that time is short. Whatever the reasons, commentary relating to fears of limited time, and comments related to a busy habitus, were associated with the more experienced teachers in the group. Teachers not in this group were Patricia, who as a

Headteacher did not have a class and will have had a different perspective on ‘business’, and Gina who was an experienced teacher but not a teacher with experience of EAL. Thus, it could be the case that teachers develop a sense of not having enough time to face new challenges when they understand the extent of the challenge and the level of detail at which they should be planning to support their new arrivals. The ways in which this interpretation of circumstance may have been related to levels of linguistic and professional capital is discussed in the next chapter.

Summary:

This chapter has presented linguistic fields as represented by the teachers in this group and has shown that these are defined differently in different settings and for different individuals. Thus, despite the presence of a national curriculum, there is an emerging sense that individual interpretation of that curriculum might vary according to experience, to the nature of the learning community and to individuals’ sense of how well they are supported by either human or concrete resources. Any sense of mastery of the linguistic field, as represented in a curriculum and pedagogy for the teaching of English, is in turn affected by subject knowledge and it is to this that the analysis turns next.

Chapter 7: The Complexities in Teachers' and Children's Linguistic Capital

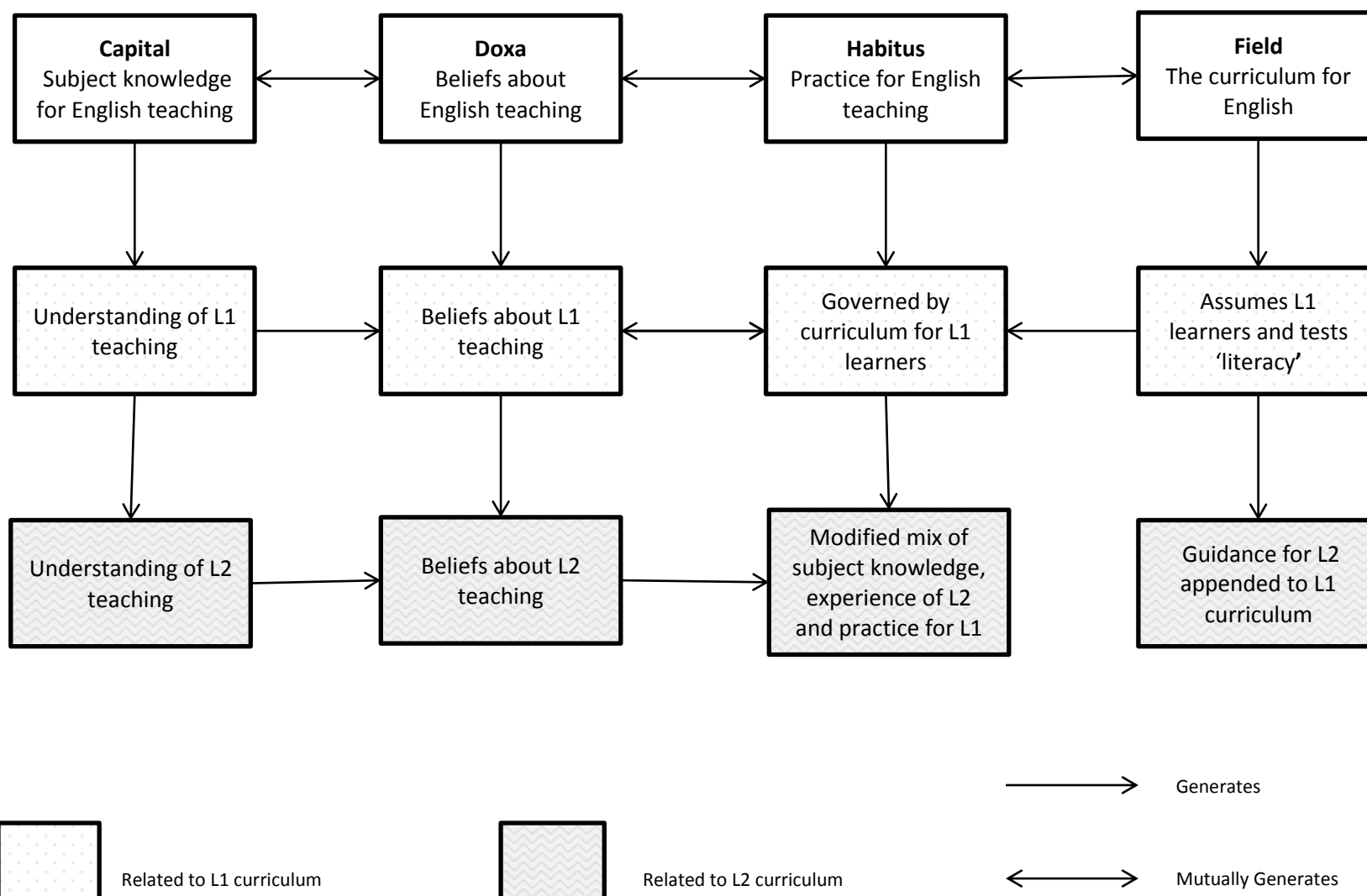
This chapter presents the complexity of the teachers' beliefs, attitudes and understanding for the teaching English to their L1 and L2 learners. The term complexity is used in order to illustrate the hazards inherent in defining teacher subject knowledge as one thing: as discussed in chapter 2, for teachers in England, subject knowledge in relation to English teaching is an intricate web of practical application, experience, training, belief, understanding, received wisdom and empirically grounded theoretical subject knowledge. The data discussed are examples of how these teachers presented their subject knowledge in response to the interview questions and as such it must also be acknowledged that teachers commonly find it difficult to articulate what it is that they do and why they do it, because for a skilled teacher much of this will be deep within the habitus and not necessarily the subject of explicit reflection. Thus, section headings use the term 'practice' rather than subject knowledge to signal the fact that the teachers, as practical professionals, largely described what they *did* and that through this it was possible to interpret their subject knowledge. The diagrammatic representation at Figure 7.1 shows the potential ways in which features of teachers' understanding and practice are related to aspects of the field, and this figure is referred to in several parts of the discussion later in this chapter.

Figure 7.1 illustrates how the data analysis generated a conceptual map of the ways in which teachers' subject knowledge and experience related to their description of their practice. Transparently this map is also a product of the researcher's eyes in the data, but extracts from transcripts throughout chapter 6 and in this chapter support this interpretation. In keeping with a Bourdieusian reading of the teachers' responses at interview, the expression of understanding and experience are interwoven with the tacit or explicit expectations of the field.

Key to understanding teachers' view of their own understanding is that it appeared to begin with their understanding of the curriculum for English which is aimed at a pupil group who speak English as their first language. Thus, the diagram shows the curriculum for L1 in a superior position to that of L2: it was very much the case that comments about L1 teaching tended to act as a constant reference point for depiction of L2 teaching, even taking into account the order and nature of the questions which would have encouraged this. It was also the case that in describing

their practice teachers demonstrated that their experiences and understanding generated their beliefs about the teaching of English to either L1 or L2 learners. Furthermore, the reference by many of the group to the curriculum for English meant that the field was apparent in dialogue relating to understanding and practice much of the time. Where the field had a missing link was in the lack of any reference to the curriculum for L2. Thus, the limitations on commentary relating to printed guidance aimed at supporting children with EAL is mirrored in the responses of the teachers; this explains the lack of any link from the bottom right hand box to any other aspect of the diagram than the curriculum for L1 of which the curriculum for L2 is something of an addendum.

Figure 7.1 Diagram illustrating the complexity of the linguistic field and potential linguistic capital for teachers in English primary schools



Discussion in chapter 3 illustrated the various guises in which linguistic capital is present in the practice and habitus of primary school teachers. Coding of the interviews focussed on aspects of linguistic capital in the teachers' responses about both themselves and their Polish or other L2 learners, but analysis also resulted in the identification of a family of nodes relating to professional capital in the form of subject knowledge; this was qualitatively different from the node capturing professional capital related to experience or inexperience which was more closely related to feelings about subject knowledge such as anxiety at a lack of it. To support comprehension of the following analysis it is useful to refer here to the questions asked relating to subject knowledge. In their first interviews teachers were asked to describe their practice for L1 learners in language and literacy development and then to explain how this might be different for their L2 learners. In the second interviews teachers were asked to provide an update on the progress of their Polish children in particular and also to reflect on whether the experience of teaching children with L2 had in any way modified their teaching of English for either native or foreign-born speakers of English. As noted earlier, interviews took on a largely narrative structure and this meant that the teachers' ways of explaining their practice varied considerably across the group. For this reason, and because subject knowledge of itself has already been described as complex and difficult to define (Clandinin, 1985; Fenstermacher, 1994; Pajares, 1992), node titles were kept relatively descriptive during coding and the intricacies of difference between the teachers emerged in post-coding interpretation.

Figures 7.2 and 7.3 present some key differences between the ways in which teachers expressed their understanding of their L1 teaching and of their L2 teaching. This difference is best described as a difference in emphasis and it is portrayed in charts that show the nodes most densely coded in terms of the density of colour used. In the L1 set of nodes it was apparent that teachers talked mostly of their teaching of writing and that there was an emphasis on the teaching of phonics for word recognition and spelling. In the L2 set of nodes discussion of children's acquisition of spoken English was more prominent and there was limited comment on reading but some level of reference to writing. The implications of these comparative weightings and differences are discussed in the sections below, and these diagrams support later discussion along with figure 7.1.

Figure 7.2 Diagram showing density of coding at nodes within subject knowledge for L1

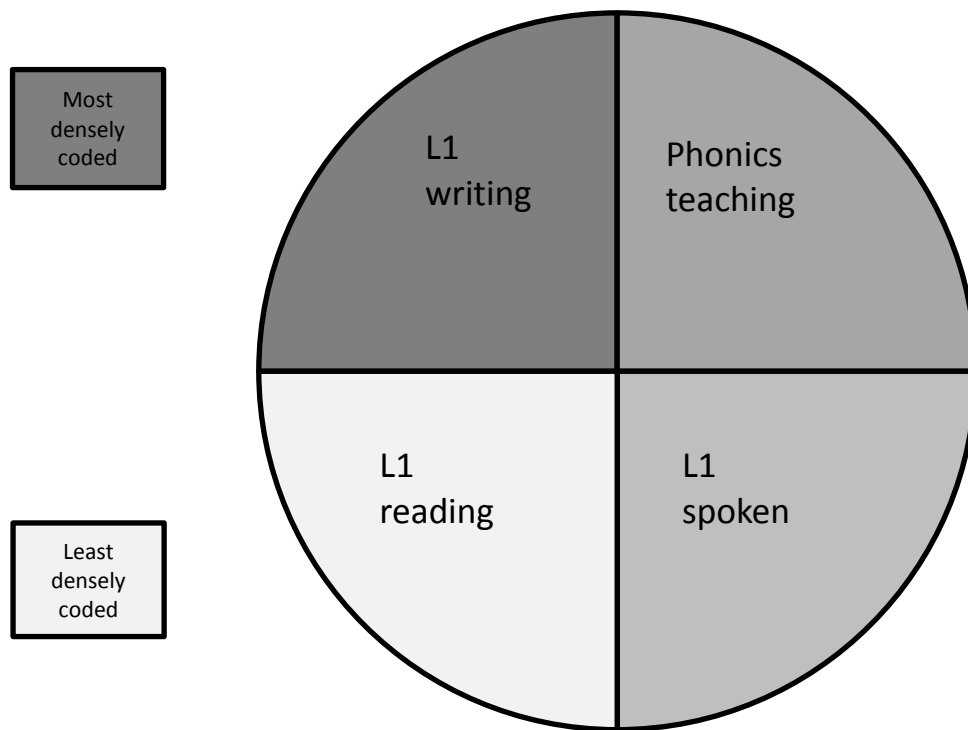
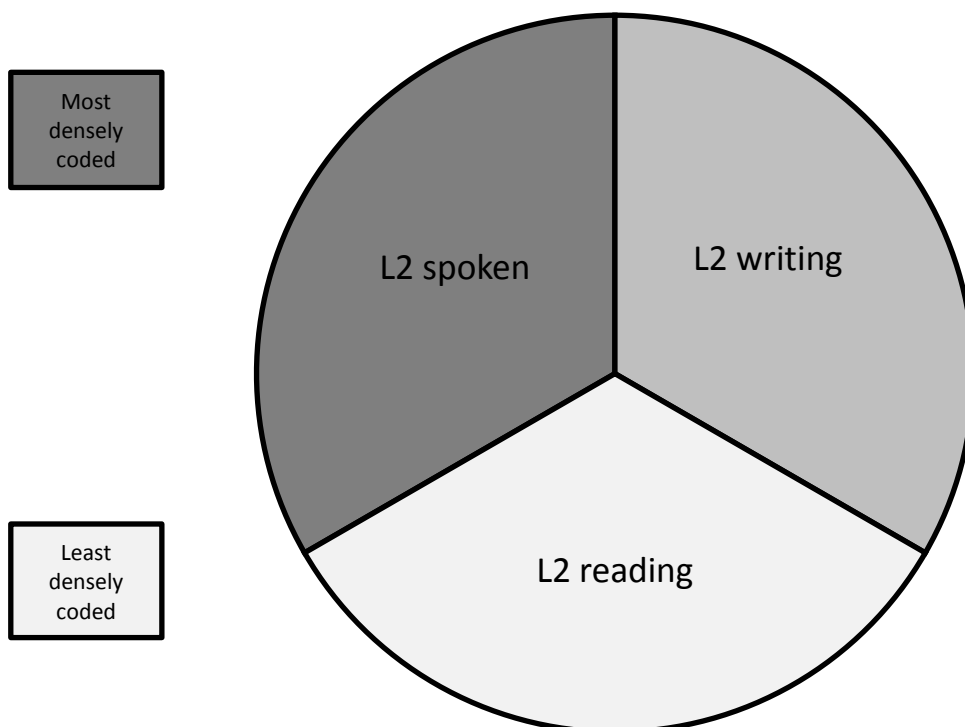


Figure 7.3 Diagram showing density of coding at nodes within subject knowledge for L2



Teachers' Expression of their Practice for Teaching English to L1 Learners: Knowing, Not Knowing, Believing, Understanding

In earlier discussion there was reference to teachers' subject knowledge having been shaped to some extent by national expectations for the teaching of English, but there was also evidence across the interviews that teachers' understanding of how children develop as speakers, readers and writers of English rested on more than adherence to policy and guidance. In some sense this was best expressed when teachers described what they did rather than why they did it, although in some instances they were able to describe both. Across the nodes for teachers' L1 subject knowledge there was reference in most of the interviews to what was perceived as the core teaching strategy of modelling and its importance in language and literacy development: for most of the teachers this was expressed in terms of the children needing good models of spoken and written English from which to develop their own use of language (Bruner, 1986) (Figure 7.4). Taking the examples listed in figure 7.4 there were differences in the ways that teachers with more experience might express this understanding.

Figure 7.4 Teachers' reference to modelling as a core strategy for supporting language and literacy development

- Gina 1:** *Well it's definitely modelling of good speaking, good writing; it's definitely a good model of all of those things*
- Alison 1:** *Modeling is one of the main things, modelling and demonstration. Showing good examples.*
- Dee 1:** *So I'm having to say "we went to the shops" and just bring it in like that and modelling it, which you would do with a child who says – an English child who'd say "we brang" or you know "we brung" or something and you'd say "we brought"*
- Nicola 1:** *...language on the walls. Obviously as a junior teacher I think you have a natural inclination not to have so much on the walls, but I'm quite aware now that I put a lot more vocabulary on the walls.*
- Kathy 1:** *With these children, they need the modelling all the time to ensure you know, they know what they're doing.*

Gina, Alison, Nicola and Dee spoke specifically of good practice for literacy, whereas Kathy's comment was related to her understanding that children need modelling so that they know what to do; this being a different interpretation of what it is to model generically rather than to provide

a model for language and literacy development. This subtle difference highlights the difference between expression of teacher subject knowledge in the inexperienced (Kathy) and the experienced teachers. In all cases it is difficult to discern if the teachers' responses were based on actual subject knowledge such as that presented in chapter 2 in relation to modelling, but in analysing practice this level of complexity is to be expected because teachers are unaccustomed to explicitly attributing their practice to any one source or stimulus (Knight & Saunders, 1999).

Turning to the weighting of nodes for L1 subject knowledge as presented in Figure 7.2, not only was there a greater emphasis on aspects of literacy rather than oracy, there was a noticeable lack of any detailed reference in the teachers' responses to *how* children develop their first language; rather, the teachers would describe features of their practice which supported vocabulary development and this mainly in their planning to foster talk for writing which was an initiative in schools at the time. This illustrates possibly that primary school teachers' focus is on enhancing the communicative competence of children who have already mastered their home language. This is understandable given the age range that they teach, and the way in which the teaching of speaking and listening is described in curriculum guidance, but it may well inhibit their potential to understand how first language development is different from second language acquisition.

In conversations about the development of children's first language the teachers defined it as those areas of speaking and listening that can be taught according to objectives set out in the curriculum for English. There was no mention of the ways in which children master the language of the classroom, as opposed to that of the curriculum, and therefore no evidence that teachers might be sensitive to the skills relating to pragmatic use of language (Ninio & Snow, 1999). This is perhaps unsurprising if we consider that pragmatic use of language is likely to sit deep in teachers' habitus and therefore something they might notice only when in deficit, with L2 learners for example, rather than when children's use of it matches expectations. Moreover, if teacher training has not introduced teachers to subtleties in language use such as this, and the curriculum for English does not make features such as pragmatics explicit, it is unlikely that it would be in any teacher's subject-knowledge base unless related to in-service further study.

More positively, and perhaps more practically and realistically in terms of what teachers might be expected to demonstrate, it was apparent from their description of their practice for talk-based activities that the teachers had an understanding of the role of oracy and social-interaction in supporting wider literacy development (Mercer, 2000, 2007; Myhill & Fisher, 2005) . This might be something that would not have been apparent had the interviews been conducted at an earlier stage in the development of a national strategy for the teaching of English. Thus, while researchers may be critical of a centralised curriculum, it is possible that it has in fact had a welcome impact in terms of making explicit for teachers some areas of potential subject knowledge that may not have been previously present in classrooms.

The examples in figure 7.5 show teachers talking about their use of both talk pairs and role play with the purpose of promoting language development. There is a noticeable difference between the way in which Gina and Peter talk as experienced teachers and in the way that Jo and Rosie portray their practice which is more descriptive. Interestingly, Gina's thoughts about her practice in her first interview were not so well articulated, but her Headteacher, Patricia, had led training in the use of talk partners in the intervening months and this had affected her practice for both her L1 and L2 learners. Similarly, Rosie's description of her practice became more detailed by the second interview, demonstrating more evidence of the importance to both experienced and the inexperienced teachers of the expertise and support available in their communities of practice (Wenger, 1998). Peter's reference to the complexity of use of English in Year 5 is commented on later in this chapter in reference to his understanding of pedagogy for L2.

Figure 7.5 Teachers' reference to their use of talk pairs and role play to develop speaking and listening

- Gina 2:** *If we're doing work on the carpets and I know it's going to involve response partners or I want them to talk about something, when they come to the carpet I ask them to sit in their talking groups*
- Jo 1:** *Well they're encouraged to in their play, to talk. Like we do quite a lot of role play, so you know, say in the afternoon, you know, they go in their role play areas and then we have talk in the morning, apart from in the inputs when obviously talk is quite important because we're talking about whatever.*
- Peter 1:** *Asking children to explain things, asking children to read things out and say 'what does it mean?' Talking with each other, and by year five there is a lot of written material; either giving instructions or to work with and manipulate so the spoken and the written language is so dominant and quite extensive by year five*
- Rosie 1:** *We've done some drama work where the children have sort of been using speaking and listening skills a little bit more, so I'm quite conscious of – I mean I quite like talking so I'm conscious that that's an important aspect to their development and it's not just about writing for them.*

There was limited reference to the teaching of reading during the interviews with the exception of decoding for reading using phonic knowledge (Figure 7.2). Of course this may have been because the questions were put in such a way that the subject was not aired explicitly, but there was limited evidence of reference to reading when analysing the transcripts other than the teaching of phonics: this possibly as a result of the very significant focus on use the of systematic phonics programmes that was live in policy review and professional discourse at the time (DfES, 2006b). Nicola referred to her use of guided reading for both L1 and L2 learners in a way that demonstrated very good subject knowledge for both, while Rosie and Jo described their practice for reading in terms of how they made time for it in their planning; again demonstrating the tendency for the NQTs to be process-focussed rather than subject-knowledge driven at this early point in their careers.

Where the teachers described their phonics teaching there was a clear split between those teaching in early years and KS 1, and those teaching in KS 2. There was also a greater amount of conversation time devoted to phonics teaching than to the teaching of reading in its widest sense: with the exception of Nicola who spoke of the use of inference and vocabulary knowledge in the context of comprehension (Yuill & Oakhill, 2010). Analysing the transcripts for understanding

of phonics teaching, those teachers who were immersed in it as part of their normal practice talked in detail of its use and of how they planned for phonics using whichever programme the school had adopted: Jo (YR), Dee (Y2), Claire (YR) and Gina (Y1) all did this with some confidence. For teachers in KS 2 however, this confidence was lacking and discussion relating to whether the teachers used phonics at all in their teaching for either L1 or L 2 learners were met with some anxiety. In some cases schools were at that time reviewing their use of phonics in KS 2 (Peter's and Alison's schools), while in others phonics in KS 2 was taught by additional staff who took the children out for this (Kathy's school). Their confidence or lack of confidence in relation to the teaching of phonics was of particular relevance to their teaching of children who were developing their use of English as L2 learners and this is discussed in the next section.

The interviews had intentionally focussed on both language and literacy development in its widest sense but seemed to elicit answers that related specifically to writing as demonstrated by the weighting in Figure 7.2. Teachers tended to demonstrate a preference for talking about writing as if this were the most important aspect of literacy; as already noted, when referring to how they supported vocabulary development or the use of talk pairs this was usually in order to improve children's written outputs rather than to enhance, for example, their capacity for oral debate. Thus, even the coded transcript relating to L1 spoken English (Figure 7.5) carried descriptions of activities generically linked to talking and thinking strategies that were likely to enhance writing rather than specific skills in oral language use. In this way, the impact of the curriculum was highly visible in teachers' interpretation of their own beliefs and understanding. While in other European countries teachers expect to teach speaking and listening skills as ends in themselves (Hall & Ozerk, 2008), responses from the group of teachers in this project indicate an alignment of English teaching in England with the teaching of writing rather than the teaching of use of spoken English. This is likely to be related to both the structure of the curriculum for English and the high-stakes focus on test results in writing which have been reported as lower than those in reading over successive years (OfSTED, 2010). Figure 7.1 charts this relationship and shows how the field may have modified teachers' beliefs and understanding of literacy development into classroom practice which has to take account of the demands of curriculum.

The ways in which the teachers presented their subject knowledge and beliefs about the teaching of writing was varied and is captured in summary at Table 7.1. The comments of Dee, Alison and Nicola are clustered together because there was a considerable level of similarity in the way that they described their practice in their different year groups. This is likely to have been because their school had a focus on writing that year with a particular emphasis on word and sentence level work to improve overall composition quality. As with previous examples this demonstrates evidence of the impact of the field on an individual's expression of their own professional and linguistic capital.

Table 7.1 Variations in teachers' expression of their practice for teaching writing

Name	Years teaching	Year group taught	Nature of commentary
Dee	23	Y2	Discussion centres on details of writing such as grammar, punctuation, correct use of tenses, vocabulary generation.
Nicola	12	Y6	
Alison	4	Y4	
Peter	25	Y5	Refers to English across the curriculum and to writing as a vehicle for learning in subjects other than English. Also alludes to relationship of vocabulary and prior knowledge of genre and content as part of the writing process.
Gina	18	Y1	Refers to a personal philosophy for the teaching of writing based on 'emergent writing'.
Jo	NQT	YR	Focuses on skills such as pencil grip and handwriting in her YR class
Kathy	NQT	Y3	Focuses on supporting resources for writing such as the work of Pie Corbett
Rosie	NQT	Y3	Focuses on processes in interview 1, but this has developed into details such as use of connectives in composition by interview 2.

For Peter and Gina, reference to writing was threaded throughout their interviews, perhaps because of some anxiety that their Polish children – who they perceived as the main focus of the interview – were struggling to write in English; thus, it should also be acknowledged that although the group appeared to talk a lot about writing, this could have been because worry about written output was uppermost in the minds and affecting their reflections on their practice for L1. That said, both Peter and Gina, among the more experienced teachers in the group in terms of years in the classroom, spoke of their practice for writing with some sense of personal

philosophy and in the case of Peter this was imbued with detailed understanding of the role of English across the curriculum. For the group of NQTs, the same issue of activity focus over skills focus dominated: but, as with their expression of subject knowledge for reading, there was evidence in their second interviews of progress with this and a deepening in their understanding of how children develop as writers.

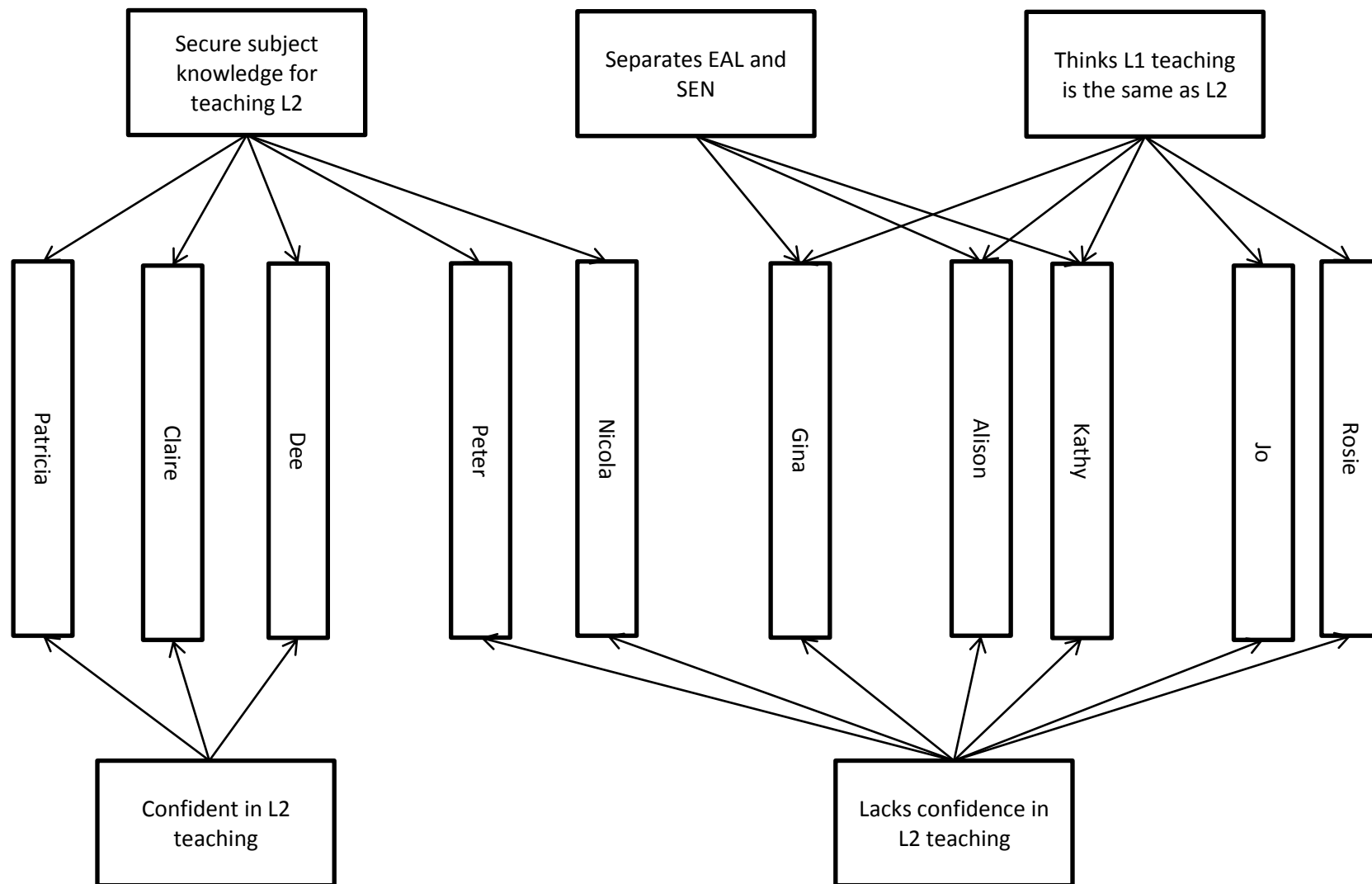
Teachers' Expression of their Practice to Support their Polish Children and other L2 Learners

The interviews had explored the teachers' beliefs and understanding of their L1 practice in order to support discussion of how this might be different from or similar to their practice for their L2 learners, with the focus being chiefly on their Polish children. As in analysis of their expression of their L1 subject knowledge, there were layers of complexity to their presentation of their practice for L2 learners: these additional layers were related to their perceptions about their own competence to provide appropriately for children whose needs were unfamiliar to them, this even in some instances with teachers experienced in the field of L2 teaching. It was also the case that in some interviews teachers expressed anxieties about professional capacity that sat in contrast to their expression of their own subject knowledge which appeared stronger than they might have thought; thus, the influence of a confident or an unconfident habitus on teachers' levels of linguistic capital was highly visible in the data (Grenfell, 1996) .

Analysis of subject knowledge for the teaching of L2 related to habitus, to doxa, to linguistic capital and to professional capital. Relationships appeared between these which are identified in figure 7.6 and are noticeably complex. For example, some teachers who demonstrated good subject knowledge for teaching children with EAL also demonstrated a confident habitus, whereas others with good subject knowledge did not. There was some relationship between teachers who considered that they did not really need to adapt their L1 teaching to support their L2 learners and those who also demonstrated a lack of confidence at interview, but this group varied at the node where they showed explicitly whether L2 should be treated as an SEN. In the main, the more experienced teachers with leadership roles sit to the left of the diagram and are associated with deeper subject knowledge and greater confidence, while the more recently qualified teachers sit to the right of the diagram as the inverse image of this.

A further complicating feature in analysis was that some of the teachers lacking confidence in the teaching of L2 were comparatively confident in their L1 teaching; so the attribution of a confident or unconfident habitus could not be generalised to their feelings about all of their practice for the teaching of English. However, the teachers in the centre of the diagram sometimes combined aspects of both and as such presented evidence that teacher professional habitus is about more than experience, confidence and understanding; despite the impression of group habitus in Patricia's and Claire's schools for example, it was clear that teachers' individual expression of their own linguistic capital played out differently when the focus was on individual practice. Finally, although nodes named 'confident' and 'unconfident' habitus were identified during coding, at the deeper analysis stage these were revealed to be relatively unhelpful because teacher confidence or lack of confidence is not necessarily directly portrayed explicitly through dialogue but rather through a range of responses which the researcher interprets as pertaining to a particular type of habitus.

Figure 7.6 Relationships between teachers and nodes relating to subject knowledge, habitus and beliefs for L2 teaching



The weighting of coding for L2 subject knowledge appeared to rest mainly on teachers' understanding of the spoken language needs of their Polish children, and therefore the node for L2 spoken language acquisition was more densely populated than for other aspects of literacy as apparent in Figure 7.3. However, whereas in analysis of teachers' L1 understanding the data presented themselves in a way that made division by areas of language and literacy development useful for reporting, in the case of L2 language acquisition and literacy development this is better explored through the response of individuals as explained in relation to Figure 7.6.

One group of teachers presented the most complex picture in terms of their professional habitus and these were Peter, Nicola, Alison and Gina: it may well be significant that they did not carry leadership roles related to EAL and nor were they newly qualified, but in the main generalisations are not helpful in interpretation of their understanding of their practice. Taking the most richly complex example as Peter, Table 7.2 shows how his responses at interview portrayed several facets of this experienced teacher's professional identity. Peter was teaching in Year 5 and had just one Polish child, Ewa, who had come to England for the first time in June 2008 prior to Peter's first interview in November of the same year. Extracts have been chosen as representations of the nodes against which his transcripts were most frequently coded.

Table 7.2 Peter's experiences of meeting the needs of one Polish child in Year 5

Node title	L2 generic subject knowledge (Professional capital)	Anxious to do the right thing (Anxious habitus)	Children less fluent (Linguistic capital/ English fluency)
Peter 1	<i>(I've) focussed at times on different topical vocabulary and sent that home</i>	<i>I see her sometimes sitting in the classroom and I can see she can't participate in what we are doing and I think how tedious (for her) and unsatisfactory that is.</i>	<i>I think, well she has got the vocabulary up to a point, but it's no way near the kind of vocabulary that is being used in the class room.</i>
Peter 2	<i>Some of the science activities can be much more practical and illustrative in a three dimensional sense (so) she may not be able to express and communicate her understanding because it's more physical than something purely written.</i>	<i>Yes I suppose she's moved on potentially, you hope that she's moved on a bit, to the point where the person from (the bilingual support service) that comes in sees some developments as well and is able to communicate those.</i>	<i>.....she can't express in a more sophisticated way her response, her thoughts and reflective response or be challenged again on it. So it's definitely a significant conceptual gap between what she can do with something, and what another child in the class can do with it, and what she's capable of.</i>

In discussion with Peter there was always a sense of anxiety in both what he said and the way in which he said it, but this was partnered with a reflective and thoughtful response to the questions which demonstrated a practitioner who genuinely sought to improve his teaching through the process of interview. He explicitly referred during discussion to the fact that the conversation was allowing him thinking time, and, by the summer, to the fact that the experience of teaching Ewa had influenced whole-school thinking on the place of speaking and listening in the KS 2 curriculum for English. This capacity for professional reflection was inspiring for the researcher to experience at first hand, but it was also the source of Peter's disquiet.

For example, it is evident from the first column of extracts in Table 7.2 that Peter had a secure understanding of how second language learners need support with vocabulary development across subjects, and there was also reference during interview to Peter allowing Ewa to write in Polish while she gradually built up her confidence to write in English. However, this sat in

contrast to the expressions of anxiety relating both to his own practice and to Ewa's lack of English fluency that are displayed in the second and third columns. Thus, for Peter, his subject knowledge for L2 was something that one might have assumed would support a confident habitus, but in fact it appeared to make him reflect further on what he did not know and how that inhibited his ability to do the best for his pupil. This suggests a very complicated relationship between teacher habitus and linguistic capital in the classroom that is somewhat different from that proffered by Bourdieu and Passeron as a norm in pedagogic action (1990, p. 10). Bourdieu and Passeron would suggest that in the classroom the dominant culture fosters an environment in which pupils must fit existing norms, but Peter's anxiety, reflected in other teachers' responses, suggests rather that teachers are in fact openly concerned by this possibility.

Having identified at Peter's first interview that he demonstrated good subject knowledge for both L1 and L2 teaching I questioned him at his second interview on where either had come from. His response was surprising in some ways, because he had also indicated that he had early-career experience in linguistically diverse settings which it might be presumed had been the source at least of his L2 understanding. However, Peter's view was that all teachers surely had a level of understanding relating to first language development and that using this to support second language acquisition was normal for teachers. Rather than seeing his experiences in inner-city schools as a young teacher as in any way formative, Peter's sense of his own understanding of L2 needs was that they grew from his generic understanding of L1 needs. In other words, he saw subject knowledge as starting from a sound grounding in first language and then extrapolating to second language. Peter was the only teacher in the group who made this explicit, and who referred at all to first language development, and yet his habitus was possibly the least confident. To the researcher he seemed very experienced and very knowledgeable, but for him the arrival of Ewa had caused a level of anxiety that appeared to negate the potential benefits of his thoughtful years in practice. It is of course possible that there were any number of other variables impacting on Peter's view of his own competence, but it did appear that the process of reflection on teaching a child who would struggle to meet age-appropriate norms in English was at least causal in his discomfort.

The use of L1 subject knowledge to support L2 teaching was apparent in the interviews with Gina, Alison and Nicola, but in each case this was expressed differently, and each was different again from Peter. Rather than drawing on an understanding of spoken language development, as suggested in Peter's discourse, the ways in which English teaching for monolingual speakers might share common ground with teaching for EAL learners was expressed more in relation to pedagogy than to child development. Nicola, Gina and Alison represented stages on a continuum of beliefs relating to teaching for EAL in that each referred during interview to the fact that they 'didn't do anything differently' but in fact it was clear that not only did they understand where they needed to adapt their practice but they also understood why (Figure 7.7). The least confident about the 'why' of practice adaptation was Alison who was newest to the profession and therefore less experienced, but even in her case, discourse centred on well-developed subject knowledge for L1 which appeared to be supporting a sound understanding of the needs of her L2 learners.

Figure 7.7 Nicola's, Gina's and Alison's expression of their understanding of and practice for L2 teaching

Nicola 2 on L2 and reading:

I think the way we do guided reading probably helps them you know, find a deeper understanding of the text. I think certainly the one that's gifted and talented and who got the level five, she was very good at inference and understanding text at quite a deep level.

Alison 1 on L2 and writing:

Speaking is very good, but writing is the main issue now. They're both enjoying reading, although they're at quite different levels actually. But the writing is really, it's trying to get them to speak what they want to write first and then try to write down what they've said. You almost need Dictaphones or something for them too – and we do use things like that but it's not constant. I'm getting ideas now!

Gina 2 on L2 and phonics teaching:

Well I have the lowest, because in Phonographics (a phonics teaching programme) the whole year group is split up for phonics, so that is three classes split about seven or eight ways and I've got the lowest ability group, with the Polish children in, the little Thai girl, and a couple of English speaking children. And when I first had them we weren't, they weren't even very confident with their sounds. So we went right back to the beginning you know, we had the flash cards with the pictures and everything, the old Jolly Phonics (a phonics teaching programme) doing actions, so we have learnt from those.

Alison's comments about children's more limited progress in writing sit alongside those discussed in chapter 6 (figure 6.2) where Nicola and Peter were anxious about L2 learners failing to make age-expected progress. It appeared that when teachers were focussing only on their practice in terms of attempting to analyse what they did for their Polish children, with the exception of Peter, they were able to express themselves purely in terms of best practice. However, when conversation shifted to awareness of the expectations of the field, an anxiety crept in that further demonstrated the tension these teachers experienced: their understanding of the needs of their L2 learners did not necessarily sit comfortably with their understanding of the requirements of the curriculum. Although Nicola refers in this extract to a gifted Polish girl, in other interviews there was frequent mention of an average attainment that may or may not have been met by the Polish children, and this average was one measured in relation to L1 learners. This relationship between teachers' professional capital and children's linguistic capital is discussed in the next section.

Gina's description of her phonics teaching is related to her school's system for differentiating for phonics, but she does also demonstrate an understanding that her L2 learners need to start from the beginning rather than with the Year 1 phases of the phonics programme she is using. Although she still said, in her second interview, that she felt her practice at the end of the year *'just confirmed what I thought has worked and has worked really well'*, there was evidence in both interviews that she was in fact reflecting on and changing her practice for talk, writing and phonics in response to her change in circumstance. Similarly, Alison spoke of her practice for L1 as being just the same and simply related to normal levels of differentiation, but her comment above shows a quickly developing detailed response to her Polish children's needs in what was still the first few weeks of her teaching experience with L2 learners.

Nicola's depiction of the success of one of her Polish girls indicates both her good subject knowledge for the teaching of reading as already discussed, but also her sensitivity to the very impressive achievement of her talented Polish pupil who exceeded the national average score in reading in English despite having been in the country for less than 2 years when tested. All three teachers moved between confident and unconfident in their interview responses, between a sense

of knowing and not knowing what was best for their children, and their description of their teaching thus supported what might be described as a contradictory set of beliefs and practices. However, taken in the context of both interviews, each, over time, expressed some understanding of the needs of L2 learners that matched what is understood theoretically. It is worth mentioning again as a reminder at this point, that none referred to documentation published specifically to support the teaching of children with EAL.

So, Peter's linguistic capital appeared to increase his anxiety and feelings of incompetence, while the three teachers discussed above varied in their expression of confidence or otherwise to 'do the right thing'. Looking to the group of teachers on the left-hand side of Figure 7.6 – Patricia, Dee and Claire – this group's interview responses were coded more consistently within nodes relating to secure and confident subject knowledge for the teaching of L2 learners and thus perhaps to a more secure sense of linguistic capital. These teachers with leadership roles appeared to talk of teaching for EAL in greater breadth than the rest of the group; this notion of breadth was characterised by their reference to all aspects of L2 acquisition rather than a focus on some details of either literacy or oracy. The habitus of each was influenced by the tensions that being in a leadership role brought with it, as discussed in chapter 6, but overall, the focus of their responses was not only on individual children's needs but also on the needs of other staff. Arguably, their greater understanding sometimes brought with it anxiety as it did for Peter, but this was anxiety that they could not support groups of children and teachers rather than that they did not know what was best practice for teaching children with EAL.

Figure 7.8 Teachers with leadership roles expression of their understanding of and practice for L2 teaching

Claire 1 on how other teachers in her school are managing the needs of newly arrived Polish children: *They (the other teachers) were saying that they work with the lower group now in English and Maths and we know that's not really right because if they're more able they should be with the higher group, but I think the teachers have got the frustration of the fact that they don't know English words. I tend to put them (L2 learners) in my higher ability group and I do try and persuade people to do things but you can't make other people do other things and they do realise that it's not actually probably the right thing.*

Patricia 2 on lack of recognition of children's home language: *But obviously the big thing you've got to be mindful of as well is what they already know. ... in their own language... So it's not coming from, not this assumption, that I think happened years ago, that just because you speak another language you actually don't know anything. And I think we're much better these days but there is still a danger that some children can just be put in bottom groups because they're second language children.*

There is a sense in both of the extracts in Figure 7.8 that each teacher considered it their responsibility to try and imbue their staff with the same level of subject knowledge that they had. Both Claire and Patricia were engaged in Masters' level study focussed on L2 acquisition and pedagogy and so their enhanced understanding allowed them to act as mentors to other teachers as already referred to in chapter 6. However, the tensions alluded to in relation to funding were clearly not the only tensions they felt. The sense from them in their interviews generally was of quite a burden of responsibility towards the children and to their teaching colleagues which rested on their learning communities' perceptions of them as having appropriate expertise. It is perhaps the case that in low-density EAL settings, the sense of responsibility is felt more acutely because teachers are less likely to be able to share it with other colleagues in the way that, for example, a subject leader for English might share understanding with most colleagues for L1 teaching of English. For Patricia, as Headteacher, this was possibly less of an issue, but for Claire there was an indication of this changing over time.

In Claire's third interview (summer 08) there was clear evidence of this burden becoming less tolerable because of a focus on attainment outcomes for the children with second language development needs in her school. Although she felt capable of supporting her staff in advising

them about their practice, and in supporting the children and their families with activities such as pre-school groups and a homework club, what she found difficult to adjust to was the data-driven aspect of the field and this led to some coding of her last interview against nodes that showed a declining confidence. It was not the case that Claire felt her own subject knowledge was lacking, but her own lack of confidence in data collection and analysis undermined her sense of her own competence; it was as if it was not enough to know and to understand, and that not knowing how to present her understanding in someone else's terms diminished her considerable expertise. This was in quite stark contrast to the confident EAL co-ordinator I had first interviewed in the pilot 18 months earlier (Figure 7.9).

Figure 7.9 Claire's diminishing confidence in her own subject knowledge in the face of data-driven expectations

Claire 3: *I have never been trained to do data, I'm an early years teacher, and suddenly you're supposed to learn to do computer data and everything else and not be taught you know. Once someone has sorted me out and how to do it, then I will be alright.....I do find that although I liaise informally with the teachers and sort of set up things with the teachers, I don't really...I know who the children are and they most of them know me, But it's difficult really to be fully involved with all of the children when you are in class all the time, you know because you need probably time out to do it, but it's something that we need to address that, either I get so much time a term out to do it, or I'm afraid I can't do it, so I just do the best I can.*

It is noticeable that the discussion of teacher's linguistic capital for L2 teaching started with an analysis of the individual's sense of understanding when focussing on Peter, Alison, Gina and Nicola, but shifted to some mention of the linguistic field when discussing teachers with leadership roles. This demonstrates the difficulty of separating the field from habitus or capital, and the necessity of considering teachers' broader context alongside their individual sense of professional identity when interpreting their responses at interview. This same relationship of field to linguistic capital is apparent in the coding of the L2 subject knowledge of the NQTs, whose explicit mention of support from their learning communities has already been discussed in chapter 6.

Figure 7.10 shows examples of how the NQTs expressed their subject knowledge, but it also

captures the development in their confidence in their own understanding across one year. In all three cases the teachers mention the work of outside help in supporting the children's language development: for Kathy this is through Jana the EAL co-ordinator, for Jo it is the provision of additional speech and language support given by the local authority, and for Rosie it is the work of her LSA in working with subject specific vocabulary for her seven year old Polish girl.

Figure 7.10 NQTs expression of their subject knowledge for L2 teaching over time

	Interview 1	Interview 2
Kathy	<i>I just thought its EAL, you know, EAL they'll be away before you know it – wrong! You think give you half a term, you'll be fine, but no.</i>	<i>I think it's interesting having had C to practice on and then having P and now having S you think "Ah! Now I know how to do this now" or "I'm not so 'Oh my word where do I go from here?' . I mean I know Jana is always there, so it's not always dire but you think "Ah he is always better doing it this way or it's better if I split them..."</i>
Jo	<i>Yes because D, the Greek girl, she's fluent but she doesn't know all the words in English. So I'll say something like you know, I can't think what the one was today, but most days I'll say something and she'll be like "oh what's that? What's a cloth, what's a rope" and I'll explain it and she's like "oh great, I've stored that knowledge." But like you say whenever they do ask obviously they explain it, but yeah I think they do like new vocab don't they.</i>	<i>A (child) did go on a (SELSA) course for ten weeks.....oh I can't remember, I never know the acronyms, but it's speech and language therapy and it was just a ten week story- telling thing and a few of them did it in my class who were struggling with speech and language and it has helped them quite a lot.</i>
Rosie	<i>So at the moment we've been doing some science and we're looking at materials and I know that the LSA has been working through materials words to just try and extend her vocabulary which those kinds of words which might well be properties of materials, words that might well be missing from the vocabulary. So to support her there, which in turn would help her reading.</i>	<i>We have just done our hanging baskets, a science based theme, the children had to play and carry out an experiment and she was beginning to use lots of different words. I mean I'm sure she has heard "thermometer" and "temperature" and "experiment" before but I felt that in her written work those words you know, were being used more than say other children. So there must be some impact there because she is being offered the opportunity to hear and learn and understand those words and therefore use them.</i>

The three teachers are in different settings – Kathy and Jo urban as opposed to Rosie’s rural – which have very different experiences of meeting the needs of second language learners, and yet, as identified in discussion of the linguistic field, this does not necessarily play out as might be expected. Kathy and Jo, for example, appear to focus on some quite generic issues in describing their children’s progress in oracy or literacy, while Rosie, despite an explicit dependency on the help of the LSA, is very clear, particularly by the second interview, of how the support is targeted and how it has improved her pupil’s writing (Cameron & Besser, 2004). Rosie’s demonstrates a particular understanding of the need for vocabulary acquisition in L2 learners that is perhaps more clearly expressed than Jo for instance. However, it is unfair to consider these comments comparatively without considering context. Jo had trained to teach KS 1 and 2 but had taken a first teaching job in Reception and was thus getting to grips with a different curriculum and age range than was familiar for her. Kathy’s experience will have been influenced by the considerable amount of help the school had chosen to target at Y3 in particular through the very experienced Jana. Thus, for each NQT, the ways in which they were able to express their subject knowledge, and therefore demonstrate any sense of linguistic capital, reflected how the linguistic field operated in their schools (OfSTED, 2011; White, et al., 2006).

Discussion thus far has illustrated the difficulty in presenting an account of what teachers’ experiences were with their Polish and other EAL children in terms of how equipped they felt professionally to deal with L2 development needs. However, if this research is to identify clearly what the challenges are for teachers of children in low-density EAL settings, then such a difficulty has to be unravelled, and the complexity of responses to the situation carefully taken account of in analysis. To summarise thus far: the discussion has covered how teachers expressed their subject knowledge for L1 and L2 and it has been acknowledged that subject knowledge might combine belief and understanding with a description of practice; the effect of the field on expression of subject knowledge has been considered as has the impact of experience and of individual habitus. What has not yet been discussed, other than in reference to Peter in Figure 7.7, is how the teachers’ sense of the children’s linguistic capital also threw light on their comparative feelings of competence and of understanding, and it is to this that the analysis now turns.

Teachers' Perceptions of Polish Children's Linguistic Capital

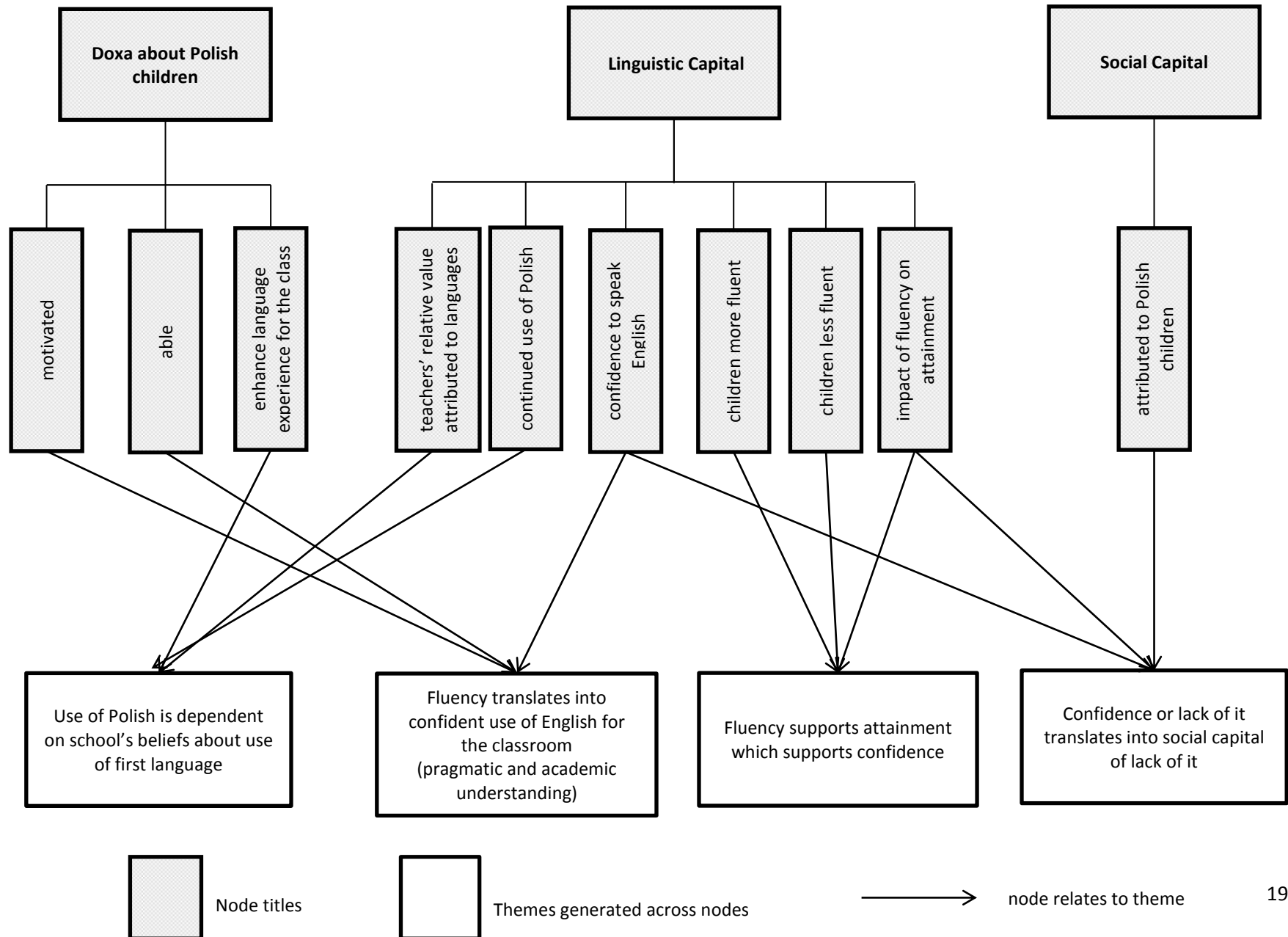
At this point in the discussion it is useful to remind the reader that the teachers themselves were not explicitly aware of ownership or otherwise of linguistic capital, nor were they often explicit in their reference to the impact of external pressures which in this research have been defined as part of the linguistic field. Rather, these terms have been used in analysis, through the use of Bourdieusian expressions in interpretation, to demonstrate how teachers' classroom identities are shaped unconsciously. Similarly, the commentary in this section relating to children's linguistic capital does not assume that the children had any conscious awareness of their own language-related position when compared with others; although it was probably the case that their lack of fluency made them more keenly aware of their language limitations than a monolingual English speaker might have been in the same classroom. In chapter 8 there is discussion of how the teachers responded to the Polish children and their families in a range of ways, but the examination specifically of how they responded to Polish children's use of English belongs in this chapter because at times teachers' perceptions of children's fluency (linguistic capital) seemed to be partnered with their demonstration of their own linguistic capital which was related to subject knowledge (professional capital). In this discussion the emphasis is mainly on Polish children, rather than other children with EAL, because the intentional emphasis on Polish children in the interviews meant that these children were most often the focus of conversation.

Relevant nodes against which data were coded related to capital and to doxa: in the case of capital there was evidence of a relationship between social and linguistic capital, but in the main coding was against nodes within linguistic capital. In the nodes relating to doxa, the coding highlighted teachers' beliefs that Polish children enhanced the language experience for monolingual English speakers, and teachers' beliefs that Polish children were able and hard working. Figure 7.11 summarises some of the discussion thus far and maps the families of nodes to some of the themes that appeared prominent between them and which are relevant to the discussion of Polish children's potential social and linguistic capital.

Polish children's relative levels of fluency in spoken English, and their use of Polish, were apparent in much of the teacher discourse and reference to this was coded against a variety of

nodes to depict the differing ways in which fluency in English was manifested in terms of teachers' values, beliefs, understanding and practice (Goldstein, 2008; Luke, 2008). Some of the themes identified at Figure 7.11 have already been discussed in previous analysis: for example, the impact on attainment was commented on in both this chapter and chapter 6, and the view of the school to use of Polish was also alluded to in relation to the impact of the field on Kathy's beliefs in chapter 6. In the remaining sections of this chapter, analysis focuses chiefly on how Polish children's use of English and Polish was received by the teachers and what this demonstrated about the teachers' own consciously or unconsciously held beliefs (Bourdieu, 1991). During data collection it became quickly apparent that Patricia's school's response to Polish new arrivals was a case study in itself, and this is presented in the final section in this chapter.

Figure 7.11 Polish children's linguistic capital: Node families and related themes identified in analysis



In terms of subject knowledge for L2 teaching there was evidence of some understanding across the group that children are better equipped to learn a new language if they have developed a secure use of their own language (Collier, 1995; Lucas, et al., 2008) (Figure 7.12). This is shown at Figure 7.11 as the relationship between the value teachers attribute to different languages and their encouragement of continued use of Polish. Nicola and Claire, for example, both spoke of the important role that metalinguistic awareness played in supporting the developing English of their Polish children; not that this term was used explicitly in their discourse, rather their conversation made it clear that they had this level of understanding.

Nicola commented that she felt her Polish children benefitted from their understanding of two languages because it fostered in them an explicit understanding of the structures of written English (Cameron & Besser, 2004). Claire also considered that the Polish children aged 7 and up arrived with more secure literacy skills in Polish; however she noted the problem that this could present for them in terms of the frustration of having to write simple sentences in English when they could write so much more in Polish. Peter referred to his Polish child's Polish in terms of both her reading and her writing. He was aware that she read already in Polish but assessing her level of fluency in this was clearly difficult. His decision to allow her to write in Polish rested on his understanding that continued use of Polish would support acquisition of English and also he saw it as a way of upholding his pupil's sense of self-esteem (Dörnyei, 2003). Note also his targeted use of support time for translation through which he demonstrates significant adaptation of his practice to support one child's needs.

Figure 7.12 Teachers' comments on Polish children's metalinguistic awareness and use of Polish

- Nicola 1:** *We do these little 'prove it' stickers, so children can judge their own writing – "have I put three adjectives in my work? Have I put three verbs? Have I written in the present tense"I was going through with them again, rehearsing well why do we have 'prove its'? What's the purpose of them? Do we do it just for the sake of it? And it was only the Polish children who had a hundred percent understanding of why they were there.*
- Claire 1:** *I think it must be very hard for her....because if you were really good in your school and you were the one who did all the writing and then suddenly you've got a write "Biff sat on the chair" it must be very frustrating for them. I do feel very, very sorry for them there.*
- Peter 1:** *We weren't too sure of right at the beginning how good her reading of Polish was, and she won't read Polish words to me or say them to me when I come across them*
- Peter 2:** *Well she's done some writing in Polish, perhaps to a greater extent earlier on in the year and the new year, sometimes writing larger tracts of writing in Polish from the class's point of view on the task in hand and then we were using some of the support time to help translate one or two parts or just using a translator on the computer and getting the gist of what was being said.*

The relationship of self-esteem to second language acquisition was also understood, but teachers were relatively ambivalent about the match of identity, culture and language (Siraj-Blatchford & Clarke, 2000). As noted in chapter 6, Kathy spoke of her school's policy of 'no Polish in school' with some regret in her first interview, but by her second interview she had assimilated this as a desirable norm because, she felt, in a school where there were large numbers of Polish children, use of Polish actively inhibited the learning of English and consequently attainment in an English-based curriculum. Claire's comment in figure 7.12 suggests some sadness at one pupil's frustration with writing English far below the level of her written Polish, but in the same interview she spoke of how when this same girl was allowed to write in Polish there was no one in school who was able to read it and so this was a frustration for the teachers.

Where children had relatively fluent spoken English, teachers (Alison, Jo and Rosie) admitted that they did not really know how much Polish their children used either in school or at home, but that in the classroom spoken language was always English. Thus, teachers demonstrated some conflicting views on whether Polish was acceptable in class: on the one hand they understood that use of first language is desirable, but on the other they appeared conditioned to

think of language attainment generally as being related to English. Therefore, in terms of linguistic capital, children were richer in this depending on how much they used English (Goldstein, 2008; Luke, 2008). Their Polish was valued, but mostly in terms of its relationship to English and the way in which it might support rapid acquisition of the latter.

The dominance of English in terms of linguistic capital was apparent in teachers' reference to children's comparative levels of fluency in English. This was further complicated by the fact that teachers appeared to award greater social or cultural capital to children who had greater linguistic capital (Christian & Bloome, 2004) (Figure 7.11): thus, children's fluency became something of a benchmark against which all aspects of the children's classroom identities could be judged. It is important to make clear at this point in the discussion that teachers were not necessarily doing this consciously, and that there was much evidence of the teachers' desire to be inclusive practitioners which sat in direct opposition to any notion of a deficit view of the children. Rather, the apparent judgement of children in relation to their fluency in English will have rested on their anxiety that children should do well academically and their own lack of awareness of the linguistic capital wealth they held as native speakers of English. It will also have been related in some instances to teachers' lack of experience with teaching children with EAL and an accompanying lack of subject knowledge that will have meant their responses were possibly based more on beliefs, combined with existing aspects of their habitus, than on understanding.

Over the course of the two interviews there was often evidence of teachers' shifting their perspective on children in relation to their fluency (Figure 7.13).

Figure 7.13 Teachers' responses to children's changing fluency in English

Jo 1: *...and her language is quite poor, I mean you can understand what she's saying but she doesn't speak sort of fluent English.*

Jo 2: *I mentioned last time how she wasn't that great at speaking to begin with, but she's really come on and she speaks in full sentences now and I would say she's fluent really. She's just as good, you know, if you compare her to an average child in speaking and listening, she's definitely up there, probably above.*

Gina 1: *G particularly, he's the stubborn one; he's not very good at using his sounds.*

Gina 2: *He (G) has just changed, he has just changed, his whole attitude to school has changed, and he now believes he can read and write. I say "Do you need help?" and he says "No I don't need help with that".*

Figure 7.13 maps several examples of this in the extracts from Gina's and Jo's interviews. Each of these teachers was inexperienced in L2 teaching, but Jo was an NQT and Gina a teacher with 18 years in the classroom; however there was a similarity in their initial frustration at their children's lack of English and their obvious pleasure at increased fluency later in the year. In the first interviews they portrayed their pupils as lacking in both linguistic and social capital; Jo's child is 'poor' and Gina's is 'stubborn'. By the second interviews these same children appear to have enhanced linguistic, social and cultural capital because they can communicate with their teachers and they can achieve in line with their peers. Gina's reference to her child's inability to use sounds initially is interesting because it serves to underline how her lack of pedagogical capital - in terms of subject knowledge for the importance of spoken language acquisition before written - had dictated her response to him. Gina had not understood the need for more oral language practice before this Polish boy could be expected to write. In the interviews with more experienced teachers, Dee and Nicola for example, whose subject knowledge was more secure, there was no evidence of this affiliation of poverty of language or behaviour with lack of fluency in English, and there was a clear understanding that vocabulary acquisition needed to precede attempts at writing.

The impact of teacher's own professional and linguistic capital was evident also when they described their children who were more fluent in English. Rosie frequently referred to how fluent her Polish girl was, and the fact that this child had been in school for several years meant that she appeared to have learned classroom norms of behaviour as well. Although Rosie was aware that her pupil might not always understand in class, the fact that she looked as if she was trying to was a source of great encouragement for her teacher (Fig 7.14). Thus, for Rosie, linguistic capital in English was associated with good behaviour or social capital, and good behaviour was a reward for Rosie herself who as a newly qualified teacher needed to see attentive children in front of her (Grenfell & James, 1998).

Figure 7.14 Teachers' conflation of linguistic and social capital

Rosie 1: *I think as well where she's so bright and keen to learn, she does try incredibly hard, you can see her listening really intently and it's almost facially she's showing you that she is listening and trying very hard to understand what you're asking her to go and do, that you do forget and don't realise that she's maybe not understanding things.*

Alison 1: *They fit right in really, you wouldn't be able to pick them out, apart from the fact obviously they are Polish, and you wouldn't necessarily be able to identify it if you saw them on the playground for example. They both, certainly my two, have a very secure lot of friends in the classroom, they are quite popular, there's nothing that makes them stand out really socially.*

The example from Alison's first interview shows a similar combining of social and linguistic capital. Like Rosie, her two Polish pupils had been in school long enough before they came to her class to have developed some fluency, and this, it would appear, had also won them friends (Christ & Wang, 2008).

There was something particularly interesting in the way that teachers spoke both of their Polish children's motivation to learn and of the rapidity with which they appeared to develop spoken English. The picture drawn by the transcript extracts in Figures 7.13 and 7.14, partnered with further evidence of Polish children's potential to attain well as demonstrated in Figures 7.7 and 7.12 is a picture of elective affinities (Grenfell & James, 1998). Polish children appeared to understand the language and the behaviour of the classroom and this of itself supported their potential to succeed because it meant that their teachers felt positively inclined towards them. Thus, it could be said that Polish children appeared to have a particular sensitivity to pragmatic use of English in terms of what is required in the classroom. As discussed in chapter 2, the development of pragmatic use of language is the point at which the process of language acquisition crosses into socially and culturally appropriate use of language (Huth, 2006; Kasper & Rose, 1999). For the Polish children, it is possible that they understood the need to listen carefully to their teachers and to be sociable with their peers, and that these behaviours supported what appeared to their teachers as motivation to learn and to 'fit in'. This seems quite remarkable taken alongside the English teachers' apparent lack of explicit understanding that there is a pragmatic code to use of English in the classroom, and suggests that for these particular children

language use had a pattern to it across both cultures that supported their social, linguistic and cultural integration (August & Shanahan, 2006; Grice, 1991).

Where the teachers' very positive response to Polish children as able linguists may have been problematic was that it may have masked their advanced language acquisition needs, particularly for those in classes with teachers less experienced in L2. While teachers such as Claire, Dee, Nicola and Peter made open reference to the need to continue vocabulary and writing support for their Polish children after the development of oral fluency (Lucas, et al., 2008), Rosie's, Jo's and Gina's comments in Figures 7.13 and 7.14 suggest that they were less aware of this need; rather, they were so pleased with their children's progress that they conflated spoken fluency with fluency in reading and writing. Within the timescale of this project it was not possible to see if this might have impacted on Polish children's attainment as the expectations of the curriculum increased, but future research is needed to track the academic outcomes of these children as they move through the education system.

One School's Response to New Arrivals and their Need to Learn English: The Young Interpreters' Project and the Polish Club

In Patricia's school, levels of linguistic capital appeared high for both staff and pupils. Although there is evidence in Gina's commentary of her lack of understanding of L2 acquisition needs, this must be taken in context: she was a teacher facing linguistic difference for the first time, and there was indication in several parts of her commentary that the stores of linguistic capital owned by Patricia and the LSA Vera were shared with her in her first year in the school. Linguistic capital was high for the children because of the way in which this school chose to support its new arrivals from a variety of linguistic backgrounds. There was discussion in chapter 6 of Patricia's anxiety that she did not have the resources to support the sudden increase in languages in her setting, but her own understanding of need as supported by her Masters' level studies acted as driver for a school-based initiative in 2007 that was adopted county-wide by the end of data collection in 2009. This enterprise was launched in partnership with Frances, the county bilingual support team leader, and with the support of Vera the LSA who was also engaged in continuing professional development study relating to second language acquisition.

The Young Interpreters' Project was a scheme whereby some children were trained to work with newly arrived non-English speaking in order that they were supported socially through friendship and help from peers when they first arrived in the school. In addition to the Young Interpreters' Project the school also had a Polish club. The Polish club differed in that it was a child-led initiative through which Polish children taught their teachers and other adults to speak Polish as a lunchtime activity. Both of these projects were symbolic of a distinct type of school environment and group habitus in a setting that had chosen a very particular approach to the inclusion of L2 learners. In order to understand how these schemes to increase intentionally the social and linguistic capital of children worked, some analysis of the potential in the school environment is presented next.

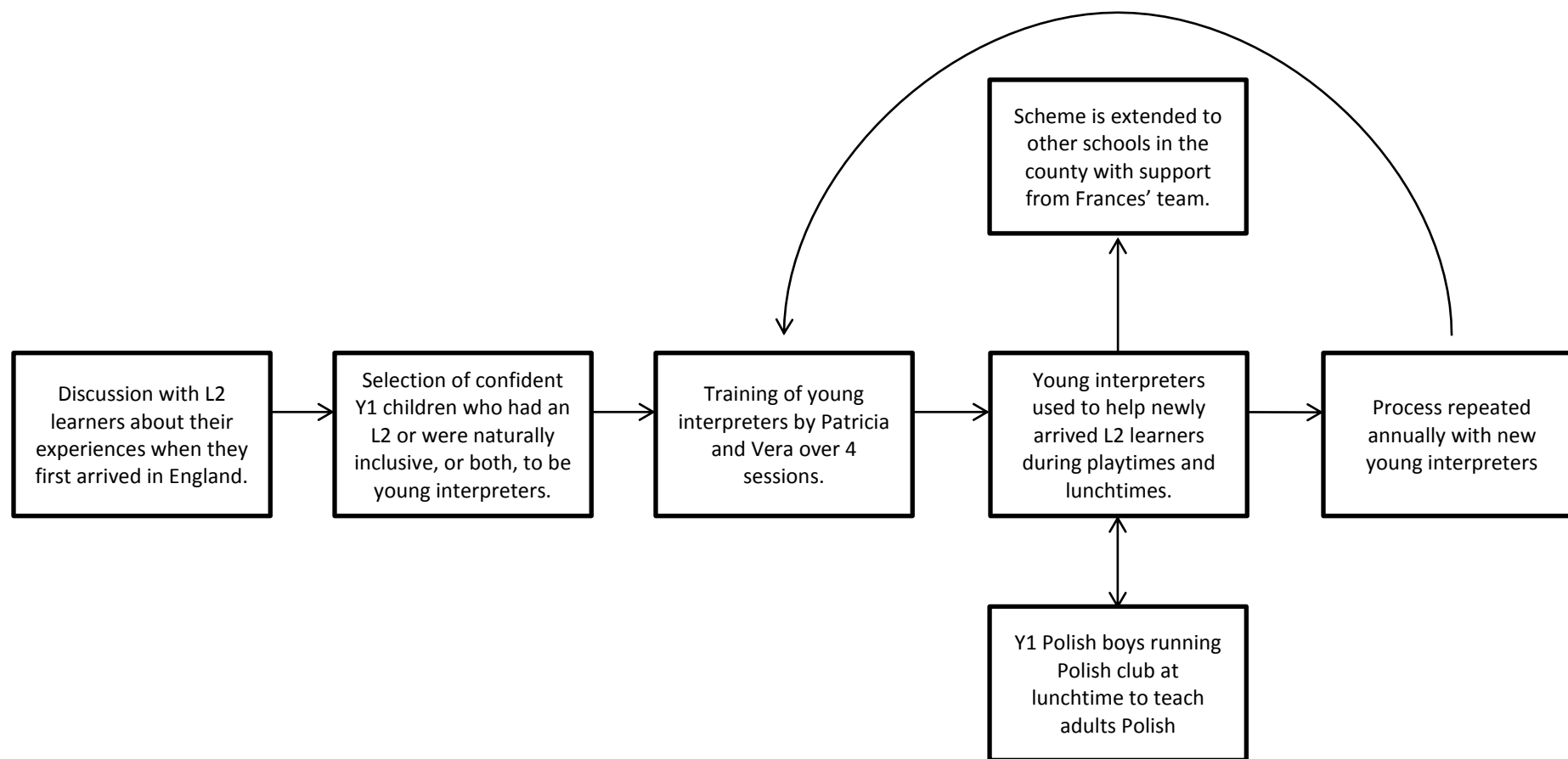
In chapter 2, reference was made to the importance of good leadership, including sound subject knowledge in leaders, in securing the success of institutional change for the teaching of English (Earl, et al., 2003; OfSTED, 2011). Patricia's secure subject knowledge for L2 teaching has been commented on previously and it had grown from several stimuli: firstly, she explained that when she had first come to teach at the school of which she was now Headteacher, she had met children with EAL for the first time and had become very interested in how they developed spoken and written English; secondly, in part because of this, she had embarked on an MA programme with a focus on understanding the needs of L2 learners and this was close to completion when data collection for this research started. Patricia had therefore become both Headteacher and coordinator for EAL in her school, meaning that support for L2 teaching had a high status and this of itself meant the school had the potential for generating linguistic capital among both teachers and children; this combination of EAL leadership and school leadership has been identified as hugely beneficial for schools in previous research (Flynn & Stainthorp, 2006).

In addition to Patricia's own interest in and training for the teaching of children with EAL, she had a close working relationship with one of the Learning Support Assistants, Vera, who had also attended training for supporting L2 learners. Together, the two of them spearheaded the provision for children with EAL in the school through a mix of training for teachers and LSAs, creation of classroom resources, working alongside teachers and working intensively with the

children themselves. The evidence of the success of their work was apparent in the multiple references made in Gina's interviews to the support she received from them both, and through references to the developing project for Young Interpreters, and the Polish club, which were part of the conversations with Patricia, Vera and Frances between 2007 and 2009.

It was not just the field in this particular school which was rich with potential for supporting L2 learners. It was also the case that both Patricia and Vera demonstrated aspects of both individual and shared habitus in terms of their inclusive and caring attitudes to the non-English speaking children. The starting point for this was a school ethos, common to all the schools visited in this research, that celebrated the achievements and lives of all its children, partnered with an intention to adapt to needs as they arose: thus, the increase in L2 learners was something which the school chose to embrace positively because this was seen as a baseline responsibility in providing an education for any child. This was appreciated not just by those working in the school but also by migrant parents in the local community who came from further afield than the school's catchment in order to send their children to a setting where they understood their children would receive high quality support (Patricia 1). The nature of the shared habitus in school was evident in the set-up of the Young Interpreters' project itself (Fig 7.15).

Figure 7.15 Setting up the Young Interpreters' Project and the Polish Club



The project's focus was on Y1 children because, Patricia felt, they would be in the school for two years and thus provide a long enough term of support for the project to become embedded; she had considered training up Y2 children but these children would have left within a year for the Junior School and this threatened the sustainability of something she wanted to see develop as part of the long term culture of the school's provision for L2 learners. The starting point for the project had been conversations with young EAL learners about their experiences as new arrivals. In their reflections the children had explained that they wanted people to be friendly first and foremost and that smiles made a lot of difference to their feeling socially accepted; they also noted that they needed to see things in pictures and for this reason the young interpreters were equipped with various picture aids which would help new arrivals ask for things such as where the toilets were or to indicate if they felt sad; furthermore, the young interpreters were encouraged to let children unable to speak in English to draw what they wanted, so the notepad was a vital part of their kit.

In the main, the role of the young interpreters was to act as friends and social support for their L2 speaking peers because feeling socially settled was seen as fundamental to the children being able to make any process academically (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003). Training over four sessions had focussed initially on this with the first session being centred on feelings, the second on the disorientation felt when having to listen to a foreign language and not understanding, the third on working with scenarios and role play, and the fourth on ensuring that the young interpreters understood enough of their role to be actively engaged in the project.

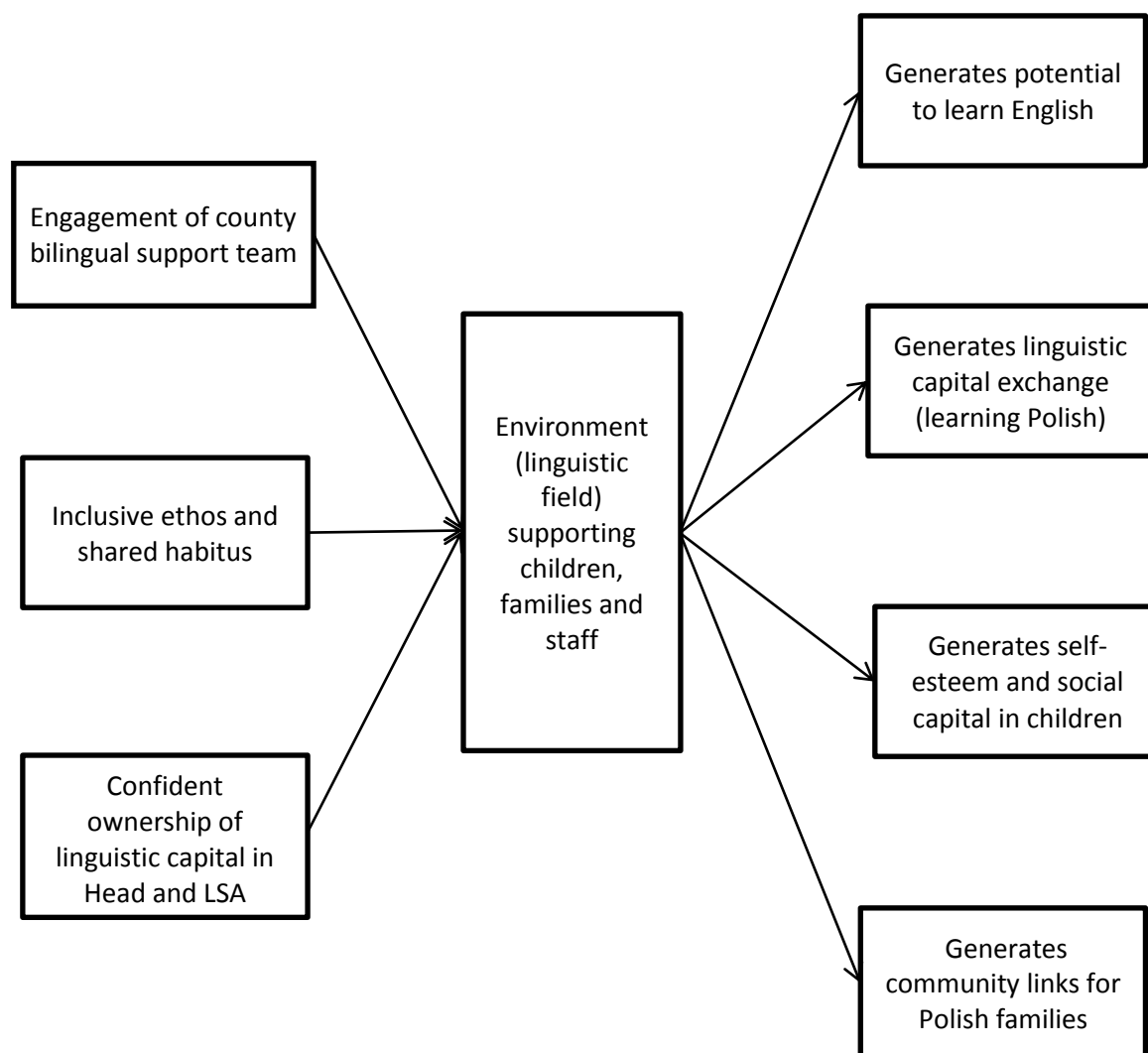
It might be considered that selecting children in Year 1, who are only 5 and 6 years old, was not only ambitious but risked being inappropriate. However, Patricia was clear that the children she selected, with the explicit support and encouragement of their parents, were emotionally literate enough not only to cope with the demands of the role but they actually enjoyed it. In this way children's developing expertise became a part of the community of practice in school (Rogoff, 2008). Something that had encouraged her to think of her children in this way was her observation of high levels of maturity from the children in Reception who were even younger but who were able to articulate very well how it felt to be a social and linguistic outsider. Central to the project's aims were the need to protect children from sources of anxiety common to new

arrivals, to ensure the raising of self-esteem and to celebrate the rich diversity of the languages in school. Academic success for all the children was also very important, but the thinking that academic success had to be foregrounded by social success meant that the focus was more on friendship than on language development. That said, the design of the scheme rested very clearly on empirical evidence relating to second language acquisition in that it acknowledged the causal role of motivation (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003) and of the stages of acquisition that preceded spoken use of a target language (Siraj-Blatchford & Clarke, 2000).

Patricia interpreted the Polish lunchtime club as a spin-off of the Young Interpreters' project because it grew as the initiative of three Polish boys who were themselves trained as young interpreters (Patricia 2) and who decided that they needed to help the adults in the school learn Polish. The fact that three children had the confidence both in the importance of their home language and in their capacity to act as teachers to their teachers can be attributed to many things, some of which are discussed in the next chapter. In terms of matching the emergence of this club to subject knowledge for the teaching of L2 learners, the initiative was evidence that the school had managed to accommodate the need of the children to feel a part of the community, to continue to use and value their home language and to appreciate the benefits of their own and others' bilingualism (Lucas, et al., 2008; Macrory, 2006) . Alongside this it was also the case that some teachers had chosen to go on a 10-week Polish course in their own time in order to learn some basic Polish to use with the steadily growing number of Polish children in school. This was interesting as an example of how the confidence of the Polish community in the school appeared to have encouraged a reciprocal response in the teachers (Gardner, 1985), so that the growth in linguistic capital was two-sided. It also demonstrated the marriage of social with linguistic capital and this is raised in the next chapter.

In summary, an interpretation of the processes involved at Patricia's school in generating linguistic and social capital is drawn at Figure 7.16.

Figure 7.16 The interaction of the linguistic field with linguistic habitus and linguistic and social capital in one school



As in Patricia's school, the particular nature of relationships between the Polish children, their families and the schools in this research were an important part of the experiences of the teachers in the project group. The focus of this chapter has been on children's and teachers' linguistic capital; other areas of capital exchange are explored in the final analysis chapter.

Summary:

This chapter presented discussion of differing types of linguistic capital: the discussion is not easily summarised because of the complexity of linguistic capital as a construct. There was analysis of the extent to which teachers' subject knowledge for teaching English is a form of both professional and linguistic capital, and of how ownership of this capital governs teachers' responses to their own pedagogy and to the learning needs of their children. Commentary focussed on the tendency among teachers to consider writing and written outcomes as the most important end point for children's literacy development, and this was at odds with their understanding that EAL learners need a curriculum that allows them to develop as speakers and listeners first. There was evidence that subject knowledge for the teaching of EAL learners presents itself very differently in different teachers and that experience does not necessarily equate with confidence.

Teachers appeared to develop their understanding of how to plan for EAL learners over time, but this was not necessarily expressed explicitly and there was evidence that for some teachers they continued in their belief that their practice for their EAL learners matched that for their monolingual speakers despite their new experiences with teaching Polish children. The level of linguistic capital awarded to children's fluency in English is high, and teachers unconsciously award social and cultural capital to their EAL learners based on their spoken competence and fluency in English. There is an indication that teachers understand the role of self-esteem and motivation in learning a new language, and that in some settings this is encouraged ahead of use of spoken English in order that children develop their new language in a supportive learning environment. Of overarching significance in the discussion in this chapter was that teachers' subject knowledge for the teaching of English to either monolingual speakers or EAL learners is related to a mix of experiences, attitudes, beliefs and understanding. These of themselves are exhibited differently in different teachers and this difference meant that capital was perceived by either the researcher or the participant in ways that were not necessarily congruent.

Chapter 8: Elective Affinities: Teachers, Children, Families and the Sharing of Capital

This chapter explores the relationship between the teachers, their Polish pupils and the Polish parents. The research had set out to examine teacher response to the new migration of Polish children after 2004 and conversations necessarily focussed chiefly on this group of pupils and their families. Although reference was made to children of other nationalities, the fact that the interviews had intentionally centred on Polish children meant that in analysis it was inappropriate to draw conclusions about teachers' attitudes to any other national or ethnic group. In the introduction mention was made of anecdotal evidence that student teachers and experienced teachers responded positively to Polish children, and it became apparent in interview that this upbeat response was shared by the teachers in this project. Data analysis revealed a relationship between linguistic, social and cultural capital in the ways that teachers related to Polish children and families, and this was as much a part of the teachers' narrative as their expression of their understanding of their practice for second language acquisition.

Teachers as Carers: the Inclusive Response of Teachers Facing Difference

During analysis a set of nodes relating to 'teacher as carer' emerged from the outset in all of the interviews because the teachers had not only talked about their practice in terms of how they planned for English. As interviewer, it was necessary to acknowledge the participant's need to talk of what they considered important in their experiences with their Polish children and this led to some discussion which gave insight into teachers' attitudes to their experience which would not have been apparent had the questions centred solely on the teaching of English. Under the 'parent' node 'teacher as carer' a subset of nodes were created to differentiate the ways in which teachers expressed their caring attitude. This was complex because different teachers alluded to their caring role in ways consistent with their personal professional habitus which may have been anxious or confident, and also in ways which related to their field as defined by the year group in which they taught. For the purposes of this discussion extracts have been selected to show teachers' naturally inclusive responses and their desire to foster self-esteem and social inclusion for the children.

The teachers were asked directly if they considered that having to admit Polish children and to manage their attendant social and linguistic needs felt unreasonable. Arguably this was a question that any professional might answer in ways that they surmise the interviewer will want to hear, but there was evidence in other parts of the conversations where teachers alluded unprompted to feelings and behaviour which confirmed the sincerity of comments such as those in Figure 8.1.

Figure 8.1 Teachers' expression of their inclusive professional habitus

- Gina 1:** *I don't feel any difference at all. No I don't, they are just children that are in my class and I will do what's best for them whatever. I do feel sometimes that I owe them something more, because I want them to succeed, you know I don't want them to fail.*
- Alison 1:** *I only have a very small minority, it's just in the same way that I might differentiate for a very low ability child, it's just part of my job to try and match my work that I'm planning for those children.*
- Dee 1:** *...it's that thing of going back to what each child needs, whether they've got a language problem or anything else, you've just got to find the way round of making sure that they can understand and be included really.*
- Peter 1:** *I mean she obviously needs education and is entitled to it, you know, there's no problem there, you just wish as a teacher there was more support.*
- Rosie 2:** *I'm quite keen to develop my practice in the literacy though, I do feel that particularly having the experience of C (Polish girl) here. But other children as well you know, that trying to encourage them to get the most out of them.....that's all we are trying to do at the end of the day.*

The interplay of teachers' individuality and the ways they expressed their inclusive habitus were clearly related to other aspects of their professional lives which in some cases have been explored in previous chapters. There was a sense in many of the comments that this was the task of the teacher and they were surprised at any suggestion that they would not think it part of their role to meet the needs of any of the children in their class. The fact that teachers did not question this as an expectation sits partnered with the fact that they did not question the expectation that all of their children should also attain at age-appropriate levels. Peter, Dee and Gina all made reference to the fact that, although they accepted their role in providing appropriately, this was not necessarily easy and they would like either more support or permission to give their Polish children more time. Thus, the inclusive habitus could be a source of tension for teachers who

worry that they are giving some pupils preference over others. Rosie and Alison, who perhaps coincidentally were the least experienced in this selection from the group, talked more of how their planning for English was related to their desire to maximise opportunities for their children. Conversely, comments from the more experienced Gina and Peter illustrated that knowing what action should be taken is not the same as being in a position to support the children as much as they might need.

Alongside this acceptance that it was their role to be inclusive practitioners, the teachers also spoke about the need for children's self-esteem to be protected and nurtured (Figure 8.2).

Figure 8.2 Teachers' comments relating to the need to foster children's self-esteem

- Dee 1:** *My Polish girl brought in her traditional tales book and one page is Polish and the other is English and mum came in and read it in Polish and we helped the little girl to read it in English. It was also good for the mum because she felt valued and the children were astounded that this little Polish girl goes to school, Polish school, on Saturday and that she can speak two languages and you could see her self-esteem being raised by it.*
- Kathy 1** *...celebrating their work, that is a great one here – “can you stop and listen?” And you just see them shoot up with their confidence and they pick up often better from another child – “oh that’s what she’s on about.”*
- Peter 2:** *So the friendships, the natural friendships started to not be as strong and also I felt I wanted to help her come out of herself anyway and so I started putting her with other groups of children socially and academically.*
- Nicola 1:** *With the Polish children, when they first arrived, I would let them just sit and listen and I wouldn’t put too many demands on them.*

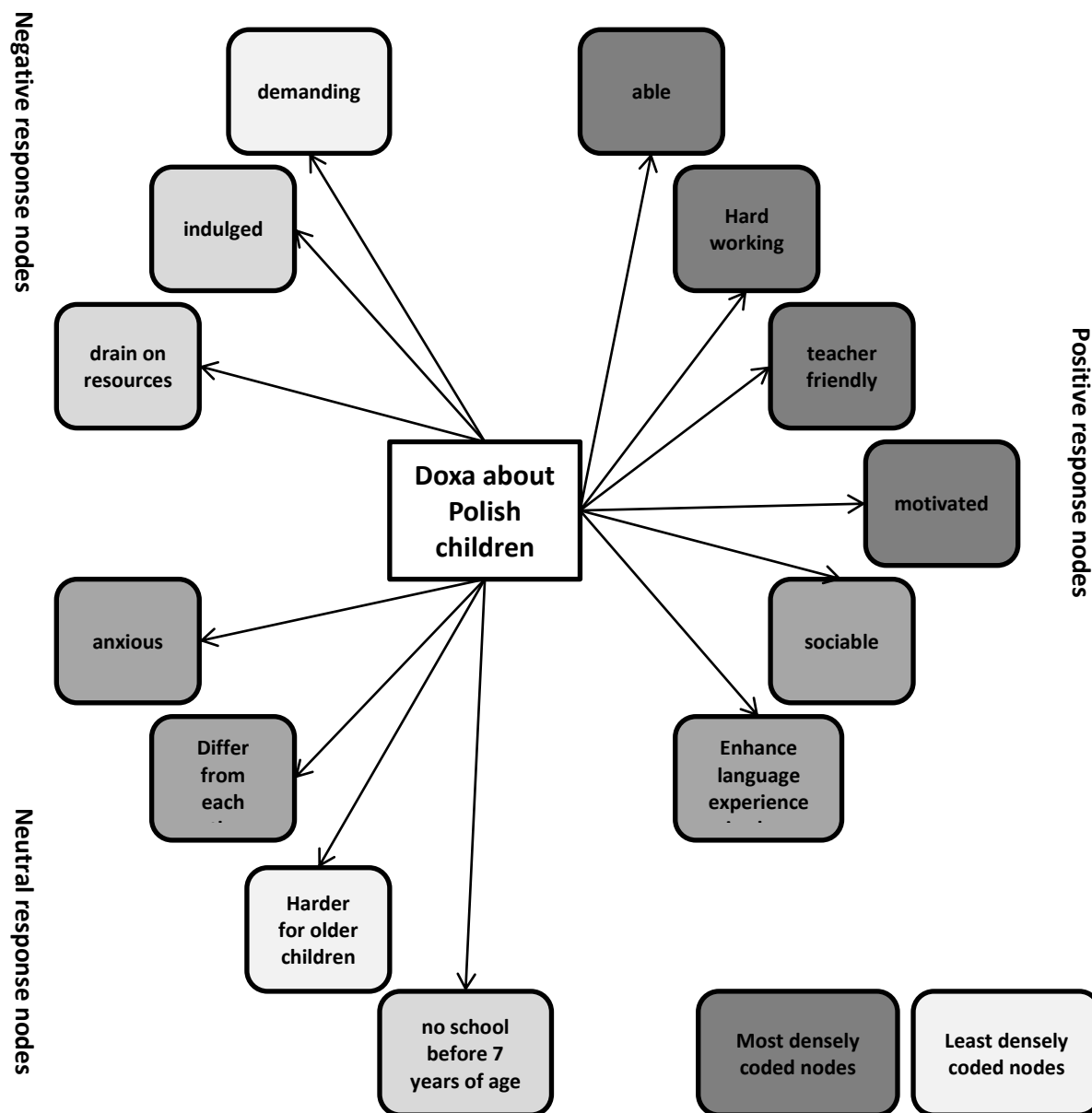
The ways in which teachers might seek to foster and protect children's levels of self-esteem were expressed with the same variety that they described their pedagogy for English, and as such show a range of responses relating to their beliefs about children generally and Polish children specifically. Dee and Kathy echoed Patricia's school's philosophy (chapter 7) that children's home lives should be valued and their successes celebrated (Siraj-Blatchford & Clarke, 2000); in fact this response was common to most of the group. Peter saw it as his role to ensure that his Polish girl in year 5 had friends, and this again was something common to the teachers; that children needed to be socially happy before they were likely to be able to make progress

developing a second language (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003). In this way teachers were, whether consciously or otherwise, ensuring that the environment for learning L2 was one that was likely to be motivating (Gardner, 1985). Nicola's comment that she tried to minimise the demands on her Polish children shows that she was sensitive to the ways in which classroom expectations in England that children will answer aloud in front of their peers, might be inappropriate and demotivating for L2 learners. Thus, teachers' expression of their desire to protect self-esteem shows many things about their understanding of children's needs both socially and academically, and is a striking example of where subject knowledge is about understanding, belief and experience as much as it is about knowing (Elbaz, 1981).

Teachers' Beliefs about Polish Children

The group largely demonstrated that they were philosophically inclined towards inclusive practice and that they should be expected to manage the learning of their newly arrived non-English speaking children. However, there was something about the Polish children that led to the teachers' expression of a particular sense of reward in teaching them. Doxa relating to Polish children were coded across a range of nodes (Figure 8.3) and these clustered into very positive responses, neutral nodes such as thoughts related to children's feelings and experiences, and a set of negative perceptions. However, it is important to note that the weighting of these nodes was by no means uniform. More than 50% of the interview data coded under doxa relating to Polish children were coded against the first 4 nodes related to a positive response, and comparatively a much smaller amount of data were coded at the negative nodes as indicated by the density of coding at these nodes. It was also noticeable that where negative comments were made these were largely absent in the second interviews and more common in the first interviews which were earlier in the school year and at a time when the experience was far less familiar for the teachers. Thus, in general, the response of teachers to their Polish children was very positive.

Figure 8.3 Nodes relating to Doxa about Polish children



Comments relating to this very positive reception (Figure 8.4) indicate that teachers considered the children hard working, able and motivated in ways that teachers find rewarding. Thus, the children reflected the wishes of their teachers in what Grenfell and James refer to as ‘elective affinities’ (1998) and the teachers saw in the children an image of the ‘desirable learner’ (Kitching, 2011). Although a specific node was created which captured particular examples of where the teachers described the children as ‘teacher friendly’, it was probably the case that all of the positive nodes relating to doxa about Polish children were teacher friendly in nature.

Figure 8.4 Teachers’ positive reception of Polish children

- Nicola 1:** *Yes, I mean I look at my children and I think I wish I had more Polish children because it’s so rewarding to teach them because they want to learn and they have a motivation. I’m not saying none of the other children are motivated, but some of the other children are not motivated to the same degree.*
- Kathy 2:** *I think with the Polish children here, I would say eighty percent make fantastic progress in a very short time.*
- Rosie 1:** *She is an amazing little sponge though. I think and it may not be the case with all children, particularly those coming from another country, that it does seem to be that I have to show her things once or explain things to her once and that’s it, she’s got it.*
- Jo 2:** *I don’t know if I mentioned last time, but one of them was particularly good at reading and writing and she’s continuing that trend, she’s one of my top readers.*
- Alison 2:** *Yes, I think that they just slot right in, and they are just part of it. I mean both of my Polish children are very motivated in learning, very much so, they are very keen to please, eager to get things right to get extra merits for things...*
- Claire 2:** *(referring to pre-school meetings) We had a task each week, which they were set, they didn’t have to do, but they (Polish children) did, they always did theirs. The children would bring a scrap book; they would bring the scrap book the next week to show me what they had done.*

Teachers’ positivity was expressed in a range of ways which is why coding against nodes that captured nuances of difference was useful in analysis. However, when taken together it was apparent that the prevailing perception was one of children who behaved well, were aspirational and learned well which meant that they were able to engage in several types of capital exchange. Where children behaved well and were sociable they developed social capital both with their teachers and in having friends among their English peer group (Christ & Wang, 2008; Csizer & Dornyei, 2005). Where they were motivated, worked hard and achieved well, they acquired

cultural capital which meant they were successful in the terms defined by the English curriculum. Linguistic capital – both in terms of the fluency that allowed them academic success and the pragmatic use of English which gave them social success – was the basis on which their access to other types of capital rested (Goldstein, 2008) and was thus the broker of both pastoral and academic well-being in school.

Figure 8.5 Teachers' comments about Polish children's attentive classroom behaviour

Jo 1: *When she is listening, say she's in a group of three or four and they're doing something, and the English people are speaking, she is like you know, just like this, she's such a sponge, you can just see it, she's trying to catch every single word they say. And her eyes, it's just amazing to watch, from one mouth to the next, to the next and it's just lovely to see and I think that's probably why she's doing so well with her language because she just wants to learn and she's so in tune and she's just 'in there'.*

Rosie 1: *Where she's so bright and keen to learn, she does try incredibly hard, you can see her listening really intently.*

In their efforts to earn linguistic capital through acquiring English, it may have been the case that children's anxiety to do well in the classroom was a reason behind their apparent motivation and tendency to listen hard. Looking at Jo's and Rosie's comments in figure 8.5, the image of 'attentive pupil' is strong, but it was possibly the case that these children were attentive because they had to be while they were listening to and acquiring a new language (Goldstein, 2008; Krashen, 1976, 1981). Thus, to some extent, the affinity the teachers felt with their children could have been based on a quite different perception of reality than that which will have been 'motivating' the children to listen. This makes the evidence relating to the teachers' and children's perceptions as somewhat contradictory in that teachers saw the 'right sort' of attention in lessons whereas children were perhaps simply too anxious to do anything else. Both Jo and Rosie were NQTs and it is possible that they lacked adequate understanding to see the difference between wanting to listen and having to listen hard. Thus, to some extent, their Polish children's access to linguistic capital may well have been inhibited by their teachers' well-meaning misinterpretation of their needs (Cameron, et al., 1996; Ellis, 1992).

Among the more experienced teachers there was some understanding of anxiety and of individual differences between the Polish children. Although it has been acknowledged that the majority of less positive remarks were confined to the first interviews when teachers were at their least familiar with the new professional expectations that second language learners required of them, there were references to concerns about the children's levels of anxiety and also to the fact that they appeared 'indulged' when compared to English children. Gina's interviews were characterised by the comparison of her two Polish boys who were of very different characters, and Claire also observed differences in the children in other year groups in her school. Peter's comments about his Polish girl were in some contrast to the general sense that Polish children were confident (Figure 8.6).

Figure 8.6 Teachers' observations of individual differences between Polish children

Gina 1: *Yes, but I think J is of a brighter disposition than G. G has other issues as well, mum is very heavily pregnant, he also has an older sister, but he seems very indulged to me personally. Mum is also, mum stays for ages in the mornings. Jacob is always late, so, you know, they have different leads into school. Gabriel doesn't like being told what to do, Jacob doesn't mind, but Gabriel really doesn't want to do it. Gabriel particularly, he's the stubborn one, he's not very good at using his sounds, but Jacob is better, and Jacob's got more confidence at writing, even though he's not the more confident child, or doesn't appear to be.*

Peter 1: *She's a very shy girl and the Father has said she was shy in Poland at school when she started school later than they start here, but you know she was very quiet there and I think to a large extent coming in here was quite overwhelming in many ways for her.*

Claire 1: *(talking of boys in Dee's class) Dee said S is resilient and his speech is improving all the time. S has overtaken P, he appeared to be less able but obviously had been taking it in. And S, because he's sporty and an athletic child, it's raised his profile amongst his peers. So like Dee said, it's made him more valued because of his achievements because you know the sporting thing with boys.*

The comments in Figure 8.6 throw into sharp relief the fact that social integration for children of migrant families is about much more than language acquisition. The children were having to manage school-based relationships as if they were native speakers, and the same features of their personalities that might have affected this at home in Poland came into play in their English classrooms but with the added disadvantage that they were relatively invisible for as long as they

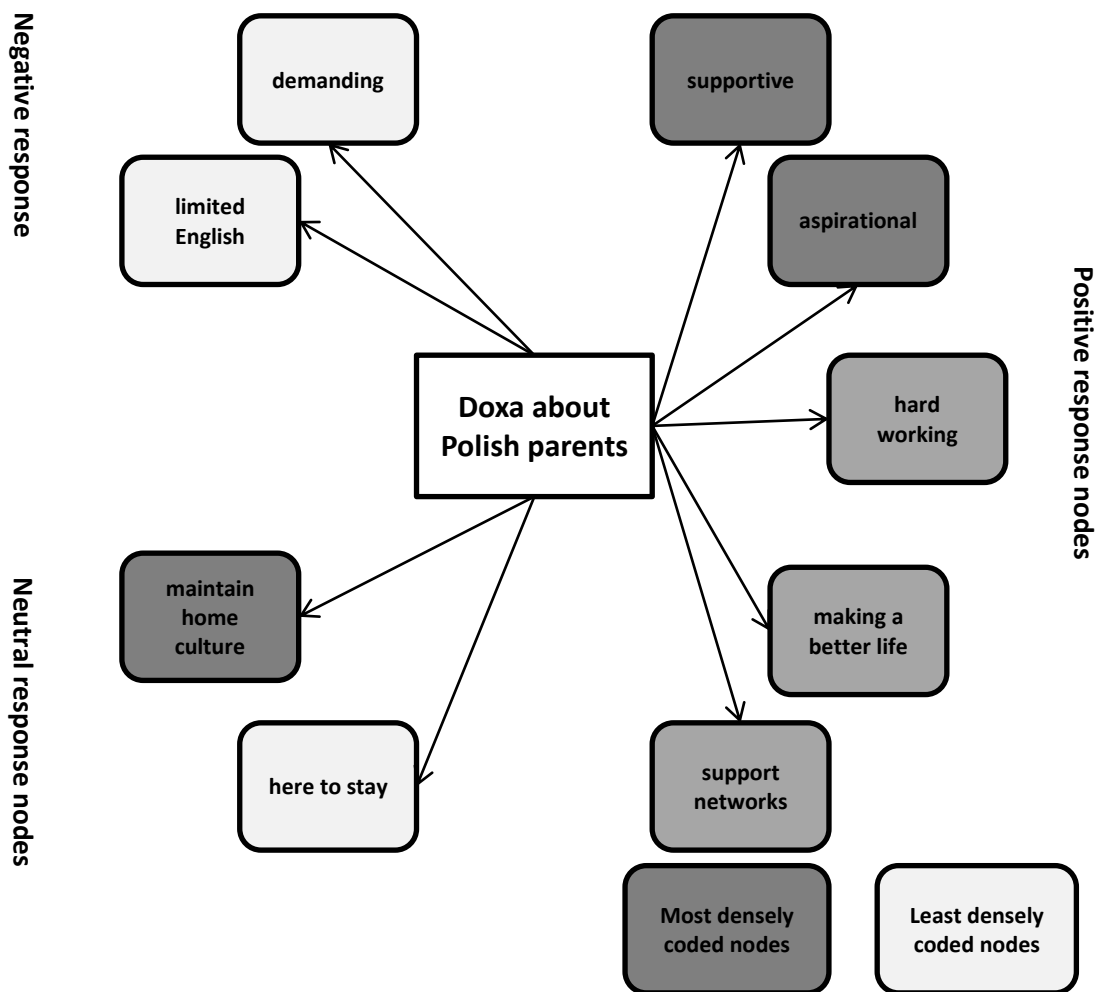
were learning to communicate in English. Analysis suggested that teachers who compared their Polish children in the way that Gina and Dee (via Claire) have in these examples had higher expectations of Polish children than of their English children. It will always be the case in a class of 30 children that there will be individual differences, but to some extent there was an air of disappointment towards those children who did not conform to the best of the attributes associated with Polish pupils. Claire talked of conversations with Polish parents where they explained to her that they felt Polish children were allowed to be children longer than English children were (Claire 1), and this would explain why their children might appear ‘indulged’ to English teachers. Claire’s position as a Reception teacher allowed her time to talk more with her parents and this, along with her largely confident habitus, may have supported her in responding more sensitively and fully to cultural difference (Bennett, 1998) than other teachers who may have felt too busy with curriculum demands.

Whether this disappointment was teachers’ own anxiety at their lack of capacity to support language acquisition, or whether it was projected entirely on to the children was unclear. By the summer interviews both Peter and Gina had noted a growth in confidence in their children and were generally very pleased with their progress. What appeared to be the case however was that their own anxiety that the children should be able to succeed in the classroom quickly, meant that their expectations of them may have been unreasonable when compared to how they might have responded to English children’s individual needs. The lack of spoken and written English became *the* identifying feature of the children rather than teachers acknowledging that socially the Polish children would be as varied as their English children. In this way differences were not so much minimised (Mahon, 2006) as associated with language difference rather than character difference. This is another example of how the very close relationship of language and identity meant that access to linguistic capital and motivation to learn English were powerful players in children’s potential to earn social and cultural capital in the classroom.

Teachers' Beliefs about Polish Parents

Despite some differences in the ways that they portrayed their Polish children at interview, the teachers' response was largely very positive as already stated, and this corresponded with their responses to the Polish children's parents (Figure 8.7).

Figure 8.7 Nodes relating to doxa about Polish parents



There was a match between some of the node titles in doxa relating to children and parents because the teachers saw the same qualities in both. In some cases this was because they had talked with the parents about their reasons for being here, but in many cases it was the teachers' interpretation of the Polish parents' behaviour which was as teacher-friendly as that of their

children. There was no measurable change in perceptions between the first and second interviews apart from some comments in Gina's interviews: rather, the conversations at the end of the school year confirmed the opinions expressed the previous autumn. Key themes included that Polish families were hard-working and aspirational in their desire for 'a better life'; that they used social networks for support of their children's education; and that they generally behaved in a way that is teacher-friendly because it supported their children's progress academically. There was also a sense that Polish parents actively sought integration and cultural assimilation, and that this was seen as praiseworthy; conversely there was also recognition that Polish families worked hard at retaining a sense of their Polish identity and this too was perceived mostly positively although, at times, less so; hence its identification as a neutral node above. This relationship is in keeping with Vertovec's assertion that a transnational identity can support the integration of new migrant families in some communities (Vertovec, 2007a).

Several teachers referred repeatedly to Polish parents' hard-working characters; this meant hard-working as employees, often in several jobs, but also hard-working in their role as parents of school-aged children (Figure 8.8).

Figure 8.8 Teachers' views of Polish parents as hard working and aspirational

Dee 2: *So we have got both sides, Mum is...we see more of Mum, Dad has come into things, but it is more Mum I think because of work, but right from the beginning of the year she said I want my child to do well. Constantly asking and she has come in and shown me the books that she has bought to help her, what can I do to get her to the next level, which is really encouraging, I wish all parents would do it [laughs]. The only reason that they are here is that they want to improve their family life, their quality of life and they feel that they can do that if they come to England and obviously they can earn more here, but their philosophy is to get on in life, to do well, is you have got to get a good education, and I think that's going back to how it was viewed by parents twenty, thirty years ago, because...they have a respect also.*

Nicola 1: *They're passing their aspirations on to their children, and that makes them different, because not all of the other children are aspirational. They are here because they want to get on, and want their children to get on.*

Peter 1: *The father's been prepared himself early on in particular to come in and talk to us about different issues, so that he has seen or perceived not in any you know belligerent way, in a very constructive way, come in and clarified for himself how we are doing things, because it is obviously very different from the Polish system.*

Although there was some variation on this theme, in that occasionally families were not seen as aspirational/ supportive, in the main the positive response to Polish families was very dominant in conversation. The Polish families appeared to have made very favourable impressions on their children's teachers, and this rested largely on their teacher-friendly behaviours of helping their children with their work, always appearing at parents' evening, working hard rather than living on benefits (ONS, 2011) and generally behaving in respectful and courteous ways to the practitioners involved in their children's education. By, consciously or unconsciously, reflecting the positive requirements in English teachers' habitus, the Polish families appeared to have quickly acquired social capital which allowed them access to opportunities for their children (Reay, 1998; Ryan, et al., 2009): in behaving in ways that teachers found pleasing, they were able to seek and gather help from schools to improve their children's educational chances (Grenfell & James, 1998). The English teachers were happy to provide this help because they perceived Polish families' wish for a better life – that is, a life that living in England can offer them – as their wish for cultural integration, which of itself appeared to be something prized by the profession. That is not to say that the teachers did not value home culture, or wished to downplay the differences inherent in their Polish children's backgrounds, but Polish families' desire for their children's success clearly supported the development of bridging capital (Puttnam, 2007; Ryan, et al., 2008).

A facet of the hard-working/aspirational characteristic, according to the teachers, was the Polish families' capacity to network and seek support from, for example, the more fluent English speakers within their local community. Many of the teachers commented on how Polish parents always responded to letters home, even when they could not read them; it was known that they would get either another parent or an older sibling who had acquired more English to read them so that they could respond accordingly. Polish families' capacity to ensure that their children always had the right things at the right time was very highly regarded. Figure 8.9 shows two examples of how Polish families' attempts at acceptance (Claire 3), and their support for each other (Patricia 1) were seen as rewarding for the teachers.

Figure 8.9 Specific examples of efforts towards social assimilation and networking

Patricia 1: *I mean the trend is that each year we are getting more and more, and also they're not catchment children. It's "You're a nice school, my friend has told me so we're coming to you", so they're coming. At the end of the day the Polish parents, the Mums and the children play outside here. The other parents are in but these ones stay and it's lovely. I've just had a gazebo erected and it's lovely, they're sat in the gazebo chatting and the children are all playing and they are talking together.*

Claire 3: *So she is becoming much more fluent and at the last parent interview, I can't remember when that was, I mean she didn't have her little notebook this time, she actually did the speaking (she had) the confidence to have a partyand it was a mixture of children, it was a mixture of nationalities, it was a mixture of abilities. Especially the confidence of the parents who find English quite difficult, and I think they live in a flat too, so you know, there was this smiling group of children (in a photograph) with party hats on and so on, and I thought what a lovely thing to happen. When I think how that first day he was like a little scared rabbit and his mum was a little scared rabbit, you know, and now they're so different; fascinating.*

Patricia was delighted that Polish families saw her school as a 'nice school' so that it became something of a magnet for families who walked a long way from outside the school catchment area in order to attend. If we consider the reference to her work with the Young Interpreters' Project in chapter 7, this will have been rewarding because it provided her with validation that her school was good in terms that were very important to her personally and professionally. Furthermore, she was clearly pleased, as was Claire, that the families felt able to use her school as a meeting ground to develop their own bonding capital (Ryan, et al., 2008). Similarly, Clare was as pleased for the mother of her Polish child as she might be for any of the children in her class. For many in the profession, the wish to care, to make a difference, and to 'touch lives' will have been a motivating attraction to teaching (Moore, 2004). In working alongside socially-accommodated Polish families, teachers were able rapidly to gain positive results which supported their view of themselves as successful practitioners: parents and children were happy and largely flourishing, and this fed a virtuous circle whereby teachers also felt productive, making bridging capital clearly cemented in school.

There were some less positive responses to the Polish parents which, in common with negative responses to children, made up only a small percentage of the data coded from the interview transcripts. The maintenance of home culture was chiefly well regarded and understood, as already noted, but there was some irritation at parents' tendency to take the children out of school in order to return to Poland for long holidays. Frustration was also demonstrated in some teachers' reference to parents' limited fluency in English. This was seen as an inhibitor to success for the children in school and therefore almost akin to a weakness in parenting skills (Figure 8.10).

Figure 8.10 Less positive responses to Polish parents

Jo 1:although the mother is very supportive, I don't think she's really in tune with what's going on all the time, because it was only the other day that she said 'oh are we supposed to be reading with the children?' And they'd been sat at home reading books for like the last four weeks, so I think she's not very good on the uptake of what's going on, even though we send her Polish letters and things. But I think she is supportive, I think she's now doing it, I just think that she wasn't maybe that organised with it.

Gina 1:he's not reading, he is still a non-reader and he can't use his sound knowledge to help him read very easily. Because mum's not an English reader, her English, her spoken English is good, good enough to be understood, but she's a non-English reader. Whereas G's mum is making an effort, she retraining because she was a counselor in Poland.

Jo and Gina both appeared to conflate lack of English with a reduction in mothers' potential as parents. It is interesting that their comments differ from those earlier in this discussion and it may be that they are not so much negative as attributable to both of these teachers' lack of experience with L2 learners and their families. However, the associations with lack of fluency are that the mothers were either lacking effort or were disorganised and these judgements demonstrate the level at which English operates as a form of capital in the eyes of teachers. Whatever the reasons for these comments, they are another example of the close relationship of linguistic and social capital and the interdependence of one with the other. Furthermore, they mirror Reay's findings relating to mothers' potential to secure advantage for their children depending on their affinity with what the school values (Reay, 1998).

Summary:

The discussion in this chapter has shown some differences in the teachers' responses to Polish children and their parents which were characterised overall by a sense of reward and satisfaction at the arrival of new migrant children and families in school. In some cases commentary was less positive (Gina and Jo) and in others appeared to rest on misconceptions (Jo and Rosie), but these were often attributable to lack of experience and were outweighed by other more favourable responses. In the case of Patricia's school the reaction to the sudden influx of Polish families had been comprehensive; as demonstrated in chapter 7 by the creation of a Polish club which grew from a combination of teachers' motivation to learn Polish and Polish children's levels of confidence. In other schools the response was on an individual basis, but the common thread was one of enjoyment of the children and their families and this to some extent may have lessened the anxiety that might commonly be a part of the experience for teachers facing difference for the first time.

As Polish children and families appeared to conform generally to a set of highly regarded attributes, so teachers constructed very favourable images of them (Kitching, 2011; Ryan, et al., 2009). The teachers also appeared to have a strong sense of the 'right' classroom habitus; sometimes explicit, sometimes buried, but very clearly mapped out on their consciousness as portrayed in their interview responses. Where teachers' habitus appeared to seek cultural capital in high-attaining and well-behaved children, Polish children's capacity to provide such capital in their behaviour and aspiration made them in turn the recipients of reward from their teachers (Figure 8.11).

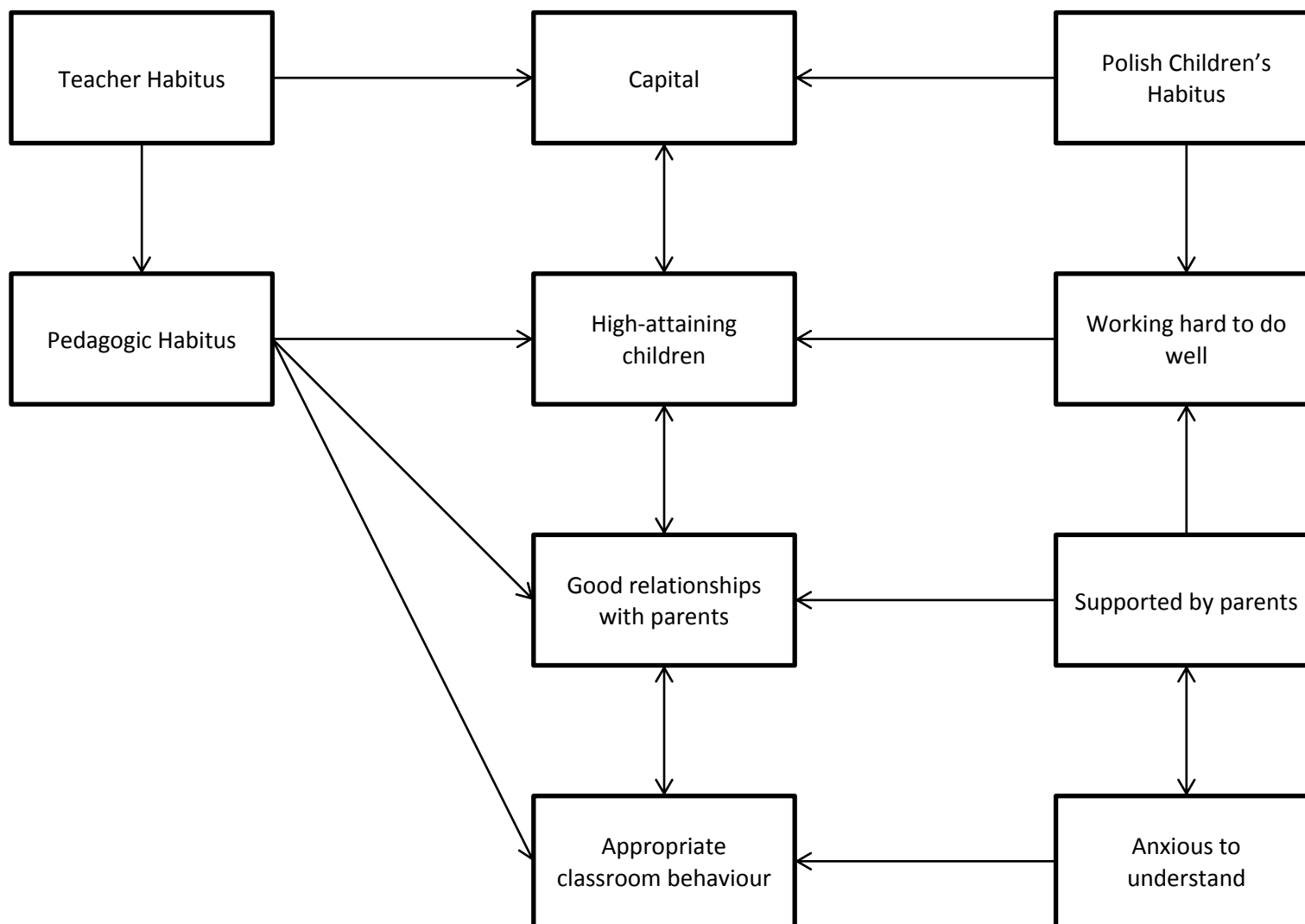
There was some evidence of Polish children's classroom habitus presenting teachers with such a powerful image of the desirable learner that they risked prizing them over other pupils. The group is too small from which to generalise, but the reception of Polish children and their families did have a largely uniform quality to it that suggests these teachers attributed them certain characteristics that they might not to other migrant families or even to English children. Nicola was well aware of this potential (Figures 8.8 and 8.4) and she even spoke of her need to

ensure that she did not appear to favour her Polish children. However, when speaking honestly, her words spoke much about the ways in which she recognised the best in them:

“I think the reason I don’t see this (teaching Polish children) as a burden is because they want to learn and they have a positive attitude; and that’s what teachers want, that’s why teachers teach.” (Nicola 1)

While not all teachers expressed their feelings about their experiences with Polish children with quite the explicit fervour of Nicola, the relationship between the children, the families and the teachers was undoubtedly one in which elective affinities allowed for the sharing of capital in ways which sat in acute contrast to what preconceived ideas of migrant education in rural schools might be. Furthermore, the teachers’ inclusive habitus meant that their sense of professional responsibility allowed them to see and to seek the best in their children and this of itself circumvented some of the restrictions the linguistic field placed on them.

Figure 8.11 Elective affinities and the ‘right’ classroom habitus and L2 learners



Chapter 9: Summary Analysis and Conclusion

This chapter presents an account of the significant findings generated by this research. Discussion focusses on the way in which teachers of children with EAL were conceptualised. Consideration is given to the value of Bourdieu's logic of practice as a theoretical framework, and there is reflection on the decision to combine a grounded theory approach to data analysis with Bourdieusian constructs of capital, field, habitus and doxa. There is analysis of the use of interview as a research instrument with teachers. Implications for policy for the teaching of English are explored. Conclusions indicate future research questions for exploring the impact of increased linguistic diversity in English primary schools.

This research set out to explore the challenges for teachers in low-density EAL settings. Interviews focussing largely on teachers' views of their teaching of English were used as the conduit for analysis of what these challenges might be. The transcripts were analysed in terms of Bourdieusian theory relating to linguistic habitus and linguistic field and this necessarily included reference to doxa and capital. The focus was maintained throughout analysis of the data, but, as is perhaps to be expected in qualitative, interpretive research, there were other areas of Bourdieu's thinking that became relevant and the use of the word 'challenges' needed some careful redefinition.

The term 'challenges' assumes that teachers in low-density EAL settings will find the experience of teaching newly arrived non-English speaking pupils in their classroom 'challenging', and this was not necessarily the case. To some extent, the term is indicative of my stance at the beginning of this project in that assumptions were made about perceived difficulties that were not inevitably there in the minds of the teachers. Furthermore, it suggests that the children themselves might present challenges, but analysis showed that feelings of success or anxiety for teachers were related to more than their experience of the present. Rather, the teachers' professional histories and the histories of the fields in which they operated were what defined for them whether the experience of teaching Polish children was something challenging or enriching, or a mixture of both. Therefore, in reading the sections presented in this chapter, it is

important to understand that the interpretation blends my own and the teachers' histories in ways that are not always clearly divisible.

Conceptualising Teachers' Practice in the Field of Second Language Acquisition

Analysing teachers' interpretation of their practice as presented at interview revealed many complexities in their working lives. Focussing the analysis on teachers' practice for teaching English as an additional language made this all the more complex because it appeared to throw in to sharp relief how teachers' responses rest on both their understanding and on their prior experiences. This meant that data analysis might relate to a number of different fields within fields and it was a significant challenge in presenting a coherent picture of teachers' experiences. Furthermore, it was undoubtedly the case that I came to the research with one particular view of the nature of subject knowledge, but emerged from it with a far more nuanced interpretation of what subject knowledge for second language teaching might be.

In the literature review in chapter 2 a wide range of research was discussed which related to language and literature development in both a first and an additional language. This was given further context in chapter 3 with an analysis of how Bourdieusian interpretation of the place of language in the classroom in particular relates to power relationships between teachers and children, and between children and their peers. The breadth of literature presented related in essence to some core themes: that there are different ways in which second language acquisition is conceptualised in research; that teachers are driven unconsciously by a centralised curriculum for English; that teachers may be either consciously or unconsciously supporting the dominance of English in the classroom; that teachers' subject knowledge has its own epistemology and that this is perhaps largely unacknowledged in research, particularly in research relating to the teaching of children who are learning a new language.

This project's aims included an intention to address the divide between psycho-linguistic and socio-cultural views of second language acquisition and second language teaching that is perceived as problematic (Firth & Wagner, 1997; Kramsch & Whiteside, 2007; Larsen-Freeman, 2007; Wong Kwok Shing, 2006) and to add to what is perceived as a limited bank of research that can inform teachers as to how best to manage the language acquisition of their EAL learners

(Andrews, 2009). At the outset these appeared to be appropriate and complementary aspirations, and indeed they remained so, but the nature of them as aspirations shifted as the project progressed. Complications arose to some extent because the potential breadth in analysis was considerable and this is made clear by the identification of themes in the paragraph above which are wide-ranging and which could each have made a single research focus of themselves. However, it is perhaps in the nature of interpretive enquiry that attempts to define the research field might end in findings that cover more ground than was originally intended because the researcher cannot know either what the data analysis might generate or the ways in which the stories of the participants might need to be told (Greene, 2010).

It could have been useful given the nature of this project to consider one particular view of second language acquisition and use this as the point of reference in analysis of practice. For example, it might have made sense to draw solely on the work of ‘social turn’ theorists in interpreting teachers’ practice because this body of thinking relates at least in part to second language teaching, as opposed to second language acquisition, and teachers were the focus of this project. However, given the conflict between researchers themselves about choice of paradigm for second language research, as referred to in chapter 2 and expressed particularly clearly in the debate around ‘social turn’ theory, a choice of one or other lens for interpretation would have created a sense in which analysis was potentially ring-fenced; this of itself might have contributed to the problem of paradigm wars rather than working towards conflict resolution. It might also have confused interpretation because there appear to be some unresolved areas of dispute in relation to whether social turn theory relates to language use or language acquisition (Gass, 1998; M. Long, 1997). Furthermore, the data were interviews in which teachers described their practice, rather than observations of actual practice, and as such there was limit to how far analysis using language acquisition theory was relevant.

In future it would be interesting to consider ‘social turn’ theory as an alternative lens for analysing this project’s data. A key outcome of both the review of the literature and of data analysis was the need to further define an epistemology of teachers’ subject knowledge, and the work of Johnson (2006) and Block (2003, 2007) could have been used actively in contributing to this. As has been stated previously, the choice of Bourdieu for interpretation of data was made

deliberately in order that there was the potential for seeing the extent and the ways in which teachers' practice is influenced by external/ internal factors and conscious/unconscious dispositions. It may be the case that by looking to match teachers' practical and theoretical understanding to a more 'traditional' view of subject knowledge for second language acquisition, that some opportunities for seeing the 'social turn' were missed.

In terms of representing the experiences for teachers of children with EAL, the data presented a picture of the practitioner who does not think explicitly about theoretical models of language acquisition but who does draw on experience and beliefs when making choices about the learning experience for his/her pupils. Another aspect of the identity of the teachers was that they did not appear to reflect explicitly on the processes involved in the development of first language or literacy and this may have inhibited their capacity to understand the language development needs of their second language learners and the ways in which these might be different from those common to their English pupils. This may also have been causal in promoting the anxiety that some of them felt when faced with the requirement to teach Polish children because they felt that they had no knowledge base on which to draw beyond that provided by curriculum materials for English speakers. This highlights the need for some collaboration in differing views of SLA research and the problems inherent in trying to champion one type of research over another. It also emphasises the need for analysis of teachers' practice to involve both psycho-linguistic and socio-cultural views of how children learn a new language in the classroom.

In conceptualising the challenges for teachers in low-density EAL settings, this research went some way to joining differing views of SLA research and thus contributing to the field. However, analysis could have further explored possible links between the two. It is possible that the use of Bourdieu for analysis detracted from the focus on subject knowledge which, although not necessarily explicit in the research questions, was undoubtedly a key interest of the mine. Although the benefits of looking at the teachers' practice in the multi-layered approach encouraged by the use of Bourdieusian constructs was valuable, there might have been room for greater attention to subject knowledge as a field in itself and for analysis against the full range of ways in which this portrayed itself during the interviews: this particularly given my preoccupation with an epistemology of teacher subject knowledge and a wish to review and

strengthen the valuable work of others in relation to this. Choices were made about the foci for analysis and these were governed principally and appropriately by the work of Bourdieu, and this is referred to later in this chapter. This meant that subject knowledge was defined within the construct of capital which of itself is a broad construct open to many different definitions and interpretations by researchers.

Uniting Grounded Theory and a Bourdieusian analytical framework

Progress in analysis of the data was supported throughout by the use of constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006) but it became necessary to conceptualise the use of this in ways that did not necessarily match a traditional view of grounded theory as ‘theory generating’. It was the case that theory was generated, but the use of Bourdieusian constructs to do this required a particular application in the use of coding and constant comparison that defines grounded theory as an approach (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In this way the project’s methodology combined methodological and philosophical frameworks in an approach that contributes to the field of interpretive enquiry, and the following paragraphs seek to support this claim

Grounded theory was used in order that there was a rigorous process of constant comparison between interview responses. This involved coding sections of transcript in to node families, but I needed also to move away from the nodes at times in order to return to the full interviews and ensure that contextual factors were not lost in the selection of comments that became isolated once coded. This moving away from the node families in analysis, enabled fuller engagement with the Bourdieusian framework when discussing interpretation of the data. However, the role of grounded theory was more important to the project’s findings than just as part of the electronic sorting cupboard associated with use of CAQDAS (Lewins & Silver, 2009).

The marriage of grounded theory with Bourdieu’s Logic of Practice fostered the emergence of themes that may have remained invisible in the data had either been used in isolation. Perhaps the most striking example of this was the uncovering of the extent to which teachers are affected

by years of curriculum control (Moore, et al., 2002). Had the interviews not been subject to the process of coding common to grounded theory, and had the node sets not been defined by the concepts of field and habitus in particular, then it is possible that this would not have emerged. Had only grounded theory been used, theory generation might have remained at a relatively surface level and tied to a particular view of subject knowledge; the initial node titles in Table 5.3 in chapter 5 demonstrate this. If the Bourdieusian lens had been used in isolation it is possible that findings would have related to only my personal history; this was related to analysing policy but not to the negative interplay of successive changes in policy with teacher identity and the subsequent impact on their sense of agency to effect change. Indeed, I am keenly aware that I would not have been in a position to shape the sentiment expressed in that last sentence at the beginning of this project.

Arguably the layering on of one particular theory on to grounded theory is not within the recognised boundaries of this methodology. Grenfell and James (1998) are critical of its use at all and might be unlikely to see how it could be wedded to Bourdieusian interpretation fruitfully. However, earlier discussion explored the range of interpretations with which researchers apply grounded theory and there was open acknowledgment of profoundly differing opinions between its originators (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) and with those who have developed it conceptually (Charmaz, 2006). If we accept that we are our histories (Schwandt, 2000), and that interpretive enquiry is essentially a process of story-telling (Greene, 2010), then the use of a particular theoretical framework to frame coding in this project could be viewed as an attempt to harness subjectivity and to use grounded theory in ways that echo at least a Straussian version of the method, albeit not a Glaserian one. In this case it was the application of Bourdieusian theory which supported the generation of theoretical rather than descriptive coding and this is in essence the driving purpose of grounded theory as an approach (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 67).

The discussion of research using a Bourdieusian framework presented in chapters 3 and 4 refers to the tendency of Bourdieusian researchers to use the logic of practice in ways personally related to them, and suggests that sometimes they do not acknowledge themselves in their research. The integration of grounded theory with Bourdieu encouraged me to confront myself in

data analysis and to sit apart from my history as far as that is ever practical or possible.

Furthermore, microanalysis of data using Bourdieusian constructs of habitus in particular forced me as researcher to see where my assumptions about what I saw in the data was based on 'taken for granted' values (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 68), and where these same unspoken values might sit in each teachers' habitus. Grounded theory was an integral part of theory generation that, when wedded to Bourdieu's constructs of capital, field, habitus and doxa, exposed the complex web of influences operating on teachers and in classrooms which are hitherto relatively unexplored.

The constructs of field, habitus, doxa and capital were valuable in identifying strands of attitudes and experiences that emerged in the interviews with this group of teachers. They allowed for the fine-grained analysis that is in keeping with interpretive enquiry and the use of interview through, for example, the identification of different types of capital and different kinds of teacher habitus. In particular, they supported analysis of the relationship between the educational field and teachers' habitus and their accompanying sense of capital. Furthermore, it was possible to combine Bourdieusian theory with the thinking of several other writers significant to this project: such as Moore's work on the impact of educational reform on teachers' view of their practice (Moore, 2004; Moore, et al., 2002); Wenger's writings on communities of practice (Wenger, 1998) and Charmaz' development of a constructivist approach to grounded theory (Charmaz, 2000, 2006). In this way the logic of practice was adapted as an interpretive framework which could take account of the particular context for the teachers and it also forced me to reflect on my own habitus and doxa in relation to the teaching of English to new migrant children.

Thus there was coherence between the philosophical framework, the use of grounded theory for interpretation of the interviews, and the need to take account of the specific circumstances of the interviewees including the context for their practice at the time. This sense of unity was enhanced further by an affiliation with Bourdieu's own preoccupation with the power games inherent in the use of different registers of language (Bourdieu, 1991). Consequently the match of method to a study of how English speaking teachers respond to linguistic difference felt largely appropriate. However, there were times when the partnership was discordant and when

the constructs of field, habitus, doxa and capital using a specifically Bourdieusian interpretation had their limitations.

The discussion thus far celebrates my use of grounded theory within a Bourdieusian framework, but it is important to acknowledge that the application of this was not unproblematic. Interpreting teachers' lives and attempting to analyse what they think proved complex, and unravelling this complexity was largely helped but occasionally hindered by the use of Bourdieu's logic of practice (Bourdieu, 1990a). The construct of the field was a facet of Bourdieusian theory which became particularly useful in separating what teachers *might* believe from what teachers do, by identifying the impact of the field on what they believe and on what they say they do. That said, the teachers' responses to their Polish and other EAL learners, and to their beliefs about their practice, were very varied and expressed differently. This meant that while it was potentially possible to separate field from habitus, it was not always easy to explicitly define field as separate from habitus. However, the whole thrust of Bourdieusian thinking is that it is not easy to unravel the 'immanent dynamics' between field and habitus (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 140). The extent to which the habitus has internalised the rules of the field means that the two are mutually inter-dependent and it is recognition of this inseparability that is of itself of interest to research (p. 127). Nevertheless, in interpreting the stories of individuals, it is incumbent on the researcher to represent those individuals as truthfully and honestly as possible (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005), and the use of Bourdieu as a lens threatened that at times.

The threat came in the form of attempts at generalisations across the group when coding against the nodes related to each of the constructs. While using a Bourdieusian framework layered on to a constructivist grounded theory approach, I was probably unconsciously looking for commonalities and perhaps assuming a group habitus, when much of the time, even in settings where more than one teacher was interviewed, the teachers were very much individuals. Their individuality was rooted in their past histories and their present teaching context, and this was different in every case. There was a movement from the individual to the group and back to the individual throughout the analysis and this is illustrative of the difficulties involved in attempting to deconstruct practice as something logical. However, again, Bourdieu would defend his own theory here and would no doubt criticise the use of grounded theory for being a research tool that

attempted to find logic in practice where there is none (Bourdieu, 1990a; Grenfell & James, 1998). Thus, the search for commonality was perhaps more a shortcoming in interpretation and my use of the method, than a failing attributable to the method or the theory of themselves. That said there was evidence of some patterns in the teachers' responses despite their widely differing modes of expression.

The claim that Bourdieusian theory is unacceptably deterministic is supported to some extent by the above commentary. While Bourdieu might describe a theory-as-practice of seemingly infinite flexibility in its use as an interpretive tool, his view of the world is essentially 'agonistic' (Wacquant, 2008) and this may have led to perceptions of problems for teachers and children where there were none. If, as researcher, I went into this research with a past history of criticism of the curriculum for English, it is possible that I adopted an 'agonised' approach to interpreting the data and unconsciously, or even consciously, looked for contention. In this way, I may have determined what I was going to see in the data rather than allowing the data to speak for themselves (assuming such a thing were possible). This is where the use of constructivist grounded theory was of benefit in the interpretation, and the use of Bourdieusian constructs for coding meant that I was potentially freed from 'seeing things' in a way that may have been restricted to my earlier research into teacher subject knowledge for English. In brief, where others might find fault with the seemingly contradictory fluid-determinism of Bourdieu, it provided a framework in this research that usefully separated it from its immediate context and the assumptions researchers might habitually associate with educational policy.

The separation of beliefs (*doxa*) from practice (*habitus*) was particularly useful in unpicking the layers of difference within teachers' understanding of the teaching of English for either L1 or L2 learners. While this was not always straightforward, as discussed in chapter 5, it was this division that revealed a need for an epistemology of teacher subject knowledge (chapter 2). The untying of the complexity of teachers' understanding of their practice was a very important outcome from the research because it unlocked me from holding a relatively unproblematic view of subject knowledge and one that related more to the world of the academic than the practitioner; this being a tension openly acknowledged by Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1990b). Equally useful was the identification of differing types of capital which supported a view of teachers' ownership of

relative amounts of linguistic and professional capital. This allowed the variety of teachers' professional experiences and attitudes in relation to linguistic capital to emerge as drawn in chapter 7, and fostered insight into the notion that capital which may be 'seen' in an individual by the researcher is not necessarily perceived by its owner nor does it necessarily generate confidence in practice.

It is possible that without the use of Bourdieusian theory the number of nodes generated would not have been so great. The definition into four distinct and over-arching categories of field, capital, habitus and doxa meant that the potential for multiple nodes was present at the start of the second round of coding. Furthermore, analysis across so many interviews meant that there were many nodes that were relevant to some but not all of the teachers and this of itself fostered proliferation. There is no particular argument for limiting the number of nodes in grounded theory, and numbers of codes generated relate to the analytic style of the researcher (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 72) but it may be the case that layers of refinement became over-detailed and sometimes repetitive. However, the use of NVivo allowed for the constant re-defining of nodes and there came a point where it was necessary to accept that the nodes, whether descriptive or interpretive in their titles, were a means to support analysis rather than being analytical of themselves (Lewins & Silver, 2009).

Once freed from the idea that there was a quasi-science to the use of either CAQDAS or a Charmazian interpretation of grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006), the benefit of being able to see multiple layers of interpretation in the research was particularly valuable given a focus of teachers' response to difference. Whereas initially the investigation was related most closely to language acquisition, it became quickly apparent that there were seams of commentary in the interviews that related to wider issues of national and cultural difference and it is possible that these would not have been 'seen' had there been a sense in which analysis should reflect only those remarks which related directly to the teaching of English.

Grounded Theory, Bourdieu and the Use of Interview for Exploring Teachers' Experiences

This project sought teachers' views about their practice relating to something that made them anxious which was always going to be a challenge for the researcher (Adler & Adler, 2003). It was always a danger that my own background in teaching children with English as an Additional Language, and my researcher identity as a critic of policy for the teaching of English, might have blinded me to the stories that were particular to these teachers' experiences. The complexity of analysing teachers' voices through a marriage of Bourdieusian and constructivist grounded theory thus rested significantly on the use of interview as the sole research instrument.

Overall, the experience of talking with teachers in both county and inner-city settings about their practice for English teaching was both fascinating and uplifting. All the more so when, in analysis, attitudes and dispositions emerged that would not have been captured by other means such as observation of practice, or survey questions, because these may have been less likely to encourage detailed reflection and therefore less open to a Bourdieusian analysis. Many of these attitudes were evidence of professionals living their commitment to doing the best for their pupils; in this way, the lives of the teachers were as unconsciously bound by virtue ethics as I was conscious in my use of them as a framework for reference. Thus, although there were some barriers to overcome methodologically, it was important to be mindful that teachers' talk about their practice is essentially moral work (Baker & Johnson, 1998).

The barriers that at times made both the conversations and analysis arduous were: that the teachers were not always confident of my intentions; that the process of interview is one of storytelling (Mitchell & Weber, 1999) and the teachers wanted to tell their stories in ways that may have departed substantially from the research questions; that the interviewer can never know to what extent the interviewee is withholding his or her thoughts (Chase, 2010; Corbin & Morse, 2003) ; and that in interpretation the researcher must work hard to ensure a respectful and appropriate representation of what has been said (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005).

In some cases these limitations were borne of a basic assumption in the research design that it would be possible for teachers to demonstrate their understanding of their own practice in interview and this assumption was inherent in the research questions. It might have been more meaningful in the teachers' eyes to observe their practice, because teachers inhabit a practical world. However, when asked if they would be observed only one teacher replied that she would, and this indicates that in terms of researching sensitive topics teachers may be much more inclined to talk about rather than to demonstrate practically what they know. Given the acknowledged challenge of selecting a group of teachers to talk about a topic that was outside their comfort zone (Adler & Adler, 2003), the use of interview was probably the least intrusive research instrument and the one most likely to yield data that could support professional exploration

One of the difficulties encountered was that Headteachers had acted as gatekeepers in several of the schools. This meant that in some cases the interviews were quite brief, or teachers' responses felt unsatisfactory, perhaps because the teachers feared giving too much of themselves away. In being unsure of my intentions, it was noticeably the case that some teachers were uncomfortable during the conversations and in future I would seek to find better ways of introducing myself as researcher in order to allay this anxiety. It might also be helpful to consider a case study approach in one school, or with fewer teachers, and a more participant approach to the research in order that the relationship between researcher and teachers becomes one built on greater familiarity and trust.

The interview proved to be a field in itself; a field in which the rules of the game did not necessarily feel explicit to the interviewee. Thus the power relations were not as equal as was intended, and the teachers may have felt some inhibitions in truly sharing their thoughts about their practice (Limerick, et al., 1996). There was a sense in which some teachers' responses suggested that they felt the interviewer 'held all the cards'; in coming to the conversations with pre-existing experience and understanding of children's second language acquisition the teachers' perception may have been that I held reserves of professional and linguistic capital superior to their own. Where this might have felt like grounds for professional sharing to my mind, in the teachers' minds it put them at a potential disadvantage because they anticipated the

possible judgements that I might confer on them as inexperienced. This insecurity may simply have been related to individual differences, but it may also have been a result of externally imposed professional expectations that will not countenance failure (Moore, 2004).

The timing of the interviews was considered important in the research design, both in terms of seizing the opportunity to chart teachers' experience at a time of significant change following an influx of Polish children and in terms of talking to them at the beginning and end of a school year. The second interviews did reveal some development in attitudes and dispositions, though not in all cases, but this does not mean that the repeat interviews were not valuable. In some cases they captured changes in the teachers' field over time and this of itself was interesting. The idea that teachers would change their minds from one end of the year to the other was possibly naïve: primary school teachers interviewed in July are already looking to the needs of their next class and feeling that their job is done with their existing children.

However, changes were charted in the field for the teachers in that their Polish children arrived at a time of development towards curriculum reform (Alexander, 2010; Rose, 2009). Perhaps it was the case that managing second language acquisition became conflated with normal classroom evolution so that teachers felt their attitudes had not changed as a result of experiencing second language learners when in fact they had. This unforeseen variable – that changes to the curriculum for English would be uppermost in teachers' minds concurrently with a change in pupil demographic – meant that analysing whether any change in habitus took place was difficult to do meaningfully at times; particularly with the more experienced teachers whose unconscious beliefs sat deep in their habitus.

One of the recognised pitfalls of interview is that the interviewer cannot ever know if the interviewee is sharing all that they know in conversation (Chase, 2010; Corbin & Morse, 2003). Arguably the interviewee cannot know this either, because the process of dialogue may well allow them time for reflection and a change of view that does not become apparent until after the interviewer has left. Several of the teachers referred to this process of reflection in their second interviews, but there was no clear evidence in their dialogue of a change in views: perhaps a

change in confidence as practitioners managing second language acquisition, but not necessarily an accompanying change in beliefs.

The fact that teachers may not articulate all that they know, even given the opportunity for reflexive consideration of their pedagogy, meant that coding the data was governed by the desire to avoid making judgements that unfairly represented or even misrepresented what the teachers were saying and what this demonstrated. The repeated reading and re-reading of the transcripts in full was a very necessary part of analysis following their fragmentation through coding, in order that the dissected extracts of speech were interpreted in context. In this way it is hoped that the representation of the teachers in this thesis has been conducted in a way that properly takes account of their realities, albeit that there must be some acknowledgement of my reality in the presentation of their stories.

Finally, the practice of story-telling in the interviews was very noticeable in many of the teachers. Long sections of transcript demonstrated teachers' need to reflect in detail on their perceptions of the experiences in the classroom for their children. Conversely the teachers did not often engage in such lengthy descriptions of themselves or their practice. Analysis showed that they wanted to talk about their children and that this was sometimes in response to a question that asked them to talk about their practice; this is in keeping with Knight and Saunders' (1999) observation that teachers in English schools find it difficult to bring their pedagogy close enough to the surface to think of it analytically. In some ways this was a distinct frustration in the use of interview, particularly as it may have been the case that the teachers were combining myth and reality (Mitchell & Weber, 1999) in these lengthy forays into the worlds of their children. However, ultimately, it was necessary to accept that the conversations were gifts (Limerick, et al., 1996) and that even with the aspiration of rigour in an approach combining interview, grounded theory and Bourdieusian thinking, this research could hope only to uncover some realities rather than *the* reality for any one of the teachers (Charmaz, 2006).

The value of using Bourdieusian analysis to unravel the complex relationship of linguistic capital, linguistic habitus and the linguistic field

The discussion in chapters 3 and 4 of research using a Bourdieusian interpretation of teachers' practice, and of children's and young adults lives in the classroom, noted that Bourdieusian researchers can be inclined to use the logic of practice in separated parts and that there is variation in the interpretation of what is really meant by some of the constructs (Reay, 2004). In this project I chose deliberately to retain all of the constructs because their inter-relationship according to their creator appeared crucial to success in seeing any one of them in the data (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Wacquant, 2008). It has been demonstrated at several points in this thesis that the choice of a Bourdieusian framework was particularly pertinent to a study of language acquisition and to the teaching of English in particular which is recognised as holding a uniquely powerful position globally (Crystal, 2003). It is the contribution to the field of research in to the teaching of English, in particular identification of the complexity in the construct of 'linguistic capital, which the following paragraphs summarise.

The data analysis in this research highlighted the extent to which language – in particular the English language - is a power broker in classrooms. This brokerage presented itself in several ways: in teachers' relationships with non-native speaking children and their parents; in teachers' attitudes to what is valued in terms of children's attainment; and in teachers' lack of awareness of the amount of capital they hold as native speakers of English. The relationship of language and power was exacerbated by the unspoken assumptions about the place of English as a subject within a National Curriculum which is written for native English speakers. This linguistic sense of place was one sitting within a field of unquestioned assumptions by the profession, the majority of who are likely to be monolingual English speakers who do not think actively about the processes involved in first or second language acquisition.

The deep-rooted sense of the power inherent in spoken and written English manifested itself throughout the data and the use of a Bourdieusian framework for analysis explicitly supported its emergence. What was particularly interesting was that the construct of linguistic capital was not one that could be readily defined as one thing, and yet its identity as a construct was strong

throughout the data. For example, for Polish children perceived linguistic capital was related to fluency in English, whereas for teachers linguistic capital was more likely to be related to subject knowledge for the teaching of English to either first or second language learners. Furthermore, ownership of linguistic capital did not necessarily result in feelings of power among the teachers or in their projecting a sense of knowing the rules of the field (Bourdieu, 1990a). Bourdieu's notion of language as power (Bourdieu, 1991) assumes a less complex interpretation of linguistic capital than was demonstrated by the teachers.

In this way this research challenged notions of language as power as presented by Bourdieu and other Bourdieusian researchers. Bourdieu (1991) argued that teachers are co-conspirators in maintaining the language of the powerful in the classroom, and Luke (2008) presents a similarly power-related view of teachers as gift-givers of the 'right kind' of language use. Both of these images suggest that teachers consciously shape a curriculum and a classroom environment that potentially marginalises children who are either not native-speakers of English or not speakers of Standard English. However, it would be a considerable misrepresentation of the intentions of the teachers in this research to say that they sought or understood that they held a powerful position linguistically. It would also ignore any other aspect of teachers' professional and linguistic habitus which the data analysis showed were crucial to understanding how teachers reacted to the experience of teaching their Polish children.

Arguably earlier research has defined capital as something that is 'awarded' according to the commonly held beliefs of the researcher or the field being researched. For example in Grenfell's research with teachers of modern foreign languages linguistic capital is defined according to the levels of fluency the teachers have in the foreign languages they are teaching and the level of subject knowledge they have about the grammatical structure of the English language (Grenfell, 1996). Moreover, in other research relating to social capital among migrant families (Reay, 1998; Ryan, et al., 2008) the sense in which social capital is discussed tends to reflect the researcher's view of what might be defined as capital and the researcher's view of whether the research participants were owners of this capital.

In this project the teachers demonstrated that a sense of ownership of capital might be much more intrinsically held and acted on than earlier research allows. There were teachers who I perceived as capital-rich because of their experiences teaching EAL learners but who themselves felt capital-poor in terms of their capacity to support their children adequately in terms of language acquisition. In this way the nature of capital was shown to be related to working environment, to teachers' individual habitus and to how teachers drew on their prior experiences for support. In this research linguistic capital was defined as having several identities and ownership of it as being something related to perception as well as reality for teachers.

It is also likely that teachers' sense of linguistic capital was related to the complexity inherent in teaching their native language as a foreign language. If it is acknowledged that in the main the teaching profession in England is not one that is multilingual, nor is it likely that many primary school teachers were taught English in the way that second languages are taught – i.e. with explicit reference to grammatical and pragmatic structures – this means that the extent of English teachers' subject knowledge for the teaching of English is limited by both their cultural and educational experiences.

This has significant ramifications for the creation of guidance materials for teachers in managing the teaching of second language learners. If teachers do not have explicit knowledge of language structure in their native language then they are unlikely to make it explicit for children learning it as a foreign language in the ways identified as crucial if non-English speaking children are to compete with their English peers in national assessments (Cameron & Besser, 2004).

Furthermore, they may not be supporting the use of spoken and written Standard English necessary to maximise outcomes for native English speakers from socially disadvantaged backgrounds. In this way, the relationships of both teachers and children in terms of linguistic capital were highlighted as profoundly complex in this research.

The construct of linguistic capital in the Bourdieusian sense of language as power has been shown to be limited in terms of the outcomes in this research because the teachers' behaviours did not conform to the confines of what can sometimes be interpreted as his determinism. However, his work was particularly valuable when observing the likely sense of place of the

Polish children in class, and their feelings of linguistic capital. It is important to note that I did not interview or observe the children and that therefore my analysis of their relationship to linguistic capital is one extrapolated from what their teachers said about them and how their teachers spoke of them. Nevertheless, the ways in which children's position in terms of power relations and language were portrayed in the research was a significant finding for a Bourdieusian researcher.

In earlier research using Bourdieu as a framework for analysis the place of target language learners has been one whereby they are defined by their lack of fluency in the language of the classroom (Christ & Wang, 2008; Christian & Bloome, 2004). As with the research among adults discussed above, children's ownership of linguistic capital in the classroom is associated with the researcher's view of the need of second language learners to become fluent in the target language. This goes some way to supporting the view of social turn theorists that the power relations of language learners and native language speakers need redefining in order to avoid notions of power in second language acquisition research (Block, 2003; Firth & Wagner, 1997; Johnson, 2006). However, in this research, it was identified that teachers cannot help but define their second language learners in a deficit role because the curriculum demands that their children are measured by a benchmark of fluency in English. Thus, while it may be commendable that we should all seek to avoid negative constructions of non-native English speakers, the reality for teachers in English classrooms is that they are given little opportunity to do so.

Teachers' view of children with limited fluency in English as lacking linguistic capital was observed to be promoted by the nature of a curriculum that tests in English and this is discussed in several sections of the data analysis. Another aspect of teachers' perceptions of children's linguistic capital was interestingly described by Frances in my final interview with her. She commented that while many of the children she had supported in their language acquisition were recognised by their schools as gifted and talented – particularly the Polish children once they established English fluency – that the children were not identified as able linguists. They might be rewarded for their skills as mathematicians or scientists, but not for the fact that they were bilingual which she saw as their greatest success. This, for her, was indicative of teachers' lack

of understanding of the complex task their children undertook in order to succeed in the classroom and perhaps yet more evidence of the weak level of capital teachers attribute to good use of spoken language as an end in itself. It also underscores the way in which the teachers were both capital-rich, because they had the power to bestow the title of ‘gifted and talented’ and yet capital-poor because they were unable to understand where the children were most able.

This discussion of linguistic capital alone reveals a construct that has the potential for broad definition. As argued in both of the earlier sections in this chapter, it would have been possible to conduct this research with no reference to Bourdieu and to use grounded theory alone and perhaps one particular lens in terms of second language acquisition. Such an approach might have supported a much more detailed analysis of a smaller focus in the research and possibly useful restriction on the notion of linguistic capital. While a criticism of this research might be that it is wide-ranging, its strength in fact lies in its breadth: a breadth underpinned by the Bourdieusian constructs which generated relations between field and habitus, between field and capital and between habitus and doxa which laid bare the many ways in which language and power relations play out in English classrooms and more widely in schools and educational authorities.

Observing teachers’ responses to difference

In encouraging the researcher to see the relationship of habitus and capital the analysis of data also generated theory that contributes to research exploring teachers’ responses to difference. Acknowledging earlier findings relating to teachers’ tendency to minimise difference (Mahon, 2006), the impact on teacher-pupil relationships of ‘elective affinities’ (Grenfell & James, 1998), and the recent observations of teachers’ tendency to gravitate towards an image of the ‘desirable learner’ in children of ‘new migrant’ families (Kitching, 2011) the exploration of the interviews demonstrated several features of teachers’ behaviour which might explain any one of these earlier findings. Moreover, the project’s findings looked beyond the surface of teacher identity assumed by researchers, and common to educational research, and mapped the cause of teacher behaviours towards a particular group of learners in primary schools.

On a straightforward level this research contributes to a small body of research on the relatively recent phenomenon of the ‘new migration’ (Favell, 2008) and its impact on schools. However, it also develops the research described in the paragraph above in ways that can support the many teachers across Europe who will have been and will continue to meet the need to teach non-native speakers because of the opening of Europe’s borders and the potential for migration between EU member states. The development of the notion of linguistic capital, inseparable at times from social capital, supported a particular lens through which to observe how and why teachers respond favourably to children of particular nations or ethnic groups.

While the teachers’ desire to nurture both social and academic success in their Polish children was something to celebrate in the data, it was also possible to interpret this as problematic at times. Seeking to assimilate their newly-arrived non-English speaking children, and focussing on their social needs first, may have led to the minimisation of difference (Bennett, 1998; Mahon, 2006). The teachers’ inclusive habitus promoted their tendency to think of their children’s language fluency and their social skills as interdependent. Arguably this was not inappropriate in terms of child development in either L1 or L2 learners, but it may have been related to a conflation of language and identity which encouraged teacher-perception of the social needs of the children to over-rule their language-development needs.

In schools where levels of L2 acquisition understanding were sound, it was probably the case that such a mixing of linguistic and social needs was used to the benefit of the children’s language acquisition. However, in the cases of the inexperienced teachers, particularly the NQTs, it is likely that the need for the teachers to feel that their children were happy outweighed an understanding of the need for these children to succeed at the levels of which they were capable. Thus it may have been the case that taking the broader view of children’s well-being resulted in under-achievement for children with EAL.

This perception of potential under-achievement was not however supported by other strands within the data analysis, because of the high levels of social capital the Polish children and their parents appeared to hold (Ryan, et al., 2008). Therefore, where the teachers were the holders of

cultural capital in terms of their capacity to support the children's success academically, the children themselves appeared to have subverted possible barriers to their own success in their understanding of appropriate school-based behaviours. This made the elective affinities (Grenfell & James, 1998) between the children, the parents and the teachers something of a fulcrum in the market place for capital exchange (Goldstein, 2008).

The very good relationship between the teachers and the Polish children and families, illustrated by the discussion in chapter 8, suggested that the teachers had a sensitive understanding of how to respond to children of other nationalities in ways that did not minimise difference. However, it was perhaps the case that their caring habitus encouraged them to put their desire for children to feel settled socially before their desire for them to succeed academically. It may also have been the case that it was possible for the teachers to feel successful if their children earned social capital, whereas supporting the children in developing linguistic capital as defined by fluency in English was much harder.

Perhaps most importantly, the teachers saw it as their responsibility to manage the language acquisition needs of their L2 learners regardless of whether they felt equipped to do this in terms of their subject knowledge. This sense of moral imperative in the teachers is at odds, as already observed, with Luke's observation that teachers seek to maintain the dominance of their own language in the classroom, particularly when that language is English (Luke, 2008). Moreover, it does not sit comfortably with a depiction of pedagogic action as symbolic violence when associated with teachers' unconscious attempts to assert the dominance of the language of power (Bourdieu, 1991; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). These teachers demonstrated that their craft is about more than a subject and that they seek to put children's needs at the heart of their professional decisions.

The findings relating to responses to difference were presented separately from those related to linguistic field and habitus in the data analysis chapters, but they were in fact an integral part of the same picture. They may not have emerged had the data analysis been observed solely through the eyes of a researcher looking only at language acquisition, even a researcher relating analysis to 'social turn' theory, and this further demonstrates the strength of using the Bourdieusian lens

for interpretation of the interviews. The use of Bourdieu's logic of practice allowed the researcher to see layers of complexity in teachers' lives that were buried in their busy everyday concerns with their planning for the curriculum.

This research uncovered many levels of contextual pressure that influence teachers' sense of agency to make choices in the delivery of the curriculum for English, and it also revealed aspects of caring and pastoral teacher behaviour that are central to notions of a good teacher. It demonstrated that teachers' linguistic habitus combines unspoken assumptions about policy, unacknowledged responses to linguistic difference, unexplored acceptance of powerlessness and unquestioning acceptance of the power of the English language. While the discussion above has highlighted where there were some limits in the use of Bourdieu to analyse the data, the much more positive finding was that turning the Bourdieusian lens on the interviews meant that the generation of theory took account of both contextual and subject-related factors in the teaching of English to English language learners.

This commentary has highlighted the interdependent nature of the linguistic field, linguistic capital and linguistic habitus. It has demonstrated how the use of Bourdieusian analysis transcends the arguments between SLA researchers about whether a psycho-linguistic or a socio-cultural approach to research is best. It is this that is perhaps the most valuable contribution to the field inherent in this project's findings and in its approach to data analysis.

Implications from this research for policy and practice in England

The literature review in this thesis started with an analysis of policy related to the teaching of English and it commented on the relatively subordinate relationship that guidance for the teaching of English language learners has in relation to a curriculum for native-speakers of English. The summary analysis in the sections earlier in this chapter have set out where the most important contributions to theory generated by this research lie, but it would be a challenge for a researcher used to focussing on how policy shapes teachers' lives to avoid discussion of how the

findings also have implications for policy and practice for the teaching of English in England. The following discussion explores both.

In terms of analysing challenges for teachers of EAL learners in low density EAL settings, the impact of the field on teachers' practice was where a sense of challenge was quite prominent, but this was not necessarily a challenge related to lack of experience with L2 learners which may have been the assumption in the research aim. The challenge was related to a clear revelation of the impact of curriculum reform over many years (Moore, 2004; Moore, et al., 2002) and the way in which certain ways of thinking appeared culturally embedded in the primary school teachers to the extent that external expectations controlled their responses unconsciously (Bourdieu, 1990a).

At a surface level the teachers' expression of their relationship with policy was a relatively positive one. The context during the research was one characterised by an air of confidence surrounding the teaching of English because the teachers were anticipating a reshaping of the curriculum (Rose, 2009) that might support both L1 and L2 learners. Furthermore, their conversations implied a sense of release from the very particular constraints of the NLS (DfES, 1998, 2001). They were working with revised documentation that, to their thinking, allowed some freedom to plan thematically and with a greater focus on speaking and listening which they acknowledged would support their L2 learners.

However, as discussed in chapter 6, there were anxieties related to age-expected levels of attainment mapped out by the National Curriculum for English (QCA/DfES, 1999), particularly for teachers in upper-Key Stage 2, and this was where the linguistic field presented a challenge. The challenge was related chiefly to teachers' feelings of powerlessness in that they were unable to make changes to curricular expectations while recognising that these were inappropriate for their Polish and other EAL learners. As both of the teachers interviewed who taught this age range were experienced in their L1 teaching, and showed considerable subject knowledge for both L1 and L2 teaching despite feeling inexperienced, it is not meaningful to generalise age of arrival of EAL pupils as problematic for all teachers in Years 5 and 6.

It could be the case that their experience and understanding gave them insight into the needs of their Polish children and this of itself led to feelings of inadequacy. In this way, greater linguistic capital in teachers may on the one hand be valuable in the classroom for Polish children in that their teachers will present activities aimed at fostering language acquisition, but on the other a source of friction for their teachers who feel torn by their understanding of the impact of lack of English fluency and a mismatch of this with expected outcomes in Year 6. Teachers with less understanding of L2 acquisition might not see this tension and may make quite different assumptions about the capacity of their children to meet age-related outcomes at all, potentially resulting in on-going under-achievement of L2 learners.

There is some evidence from the analysis to support this last point in that teachers in the group who were professionally inexperienced, or had less experience with L2, were less able to see where their planning might be adapted for second language learners. Rather they saw it as an extension of their existing planning for English. This may not have been particularly problematic for these teachers, particularly considering the strength in the communities of practice (Wenger, 1998) that they were working in. Furthermore, teachers in the county setting were supported by the wider network provided by the local authority which had a history of understanding issues of cultural and linguistic diversity. Thus, it may have been the case that children were protected from their teachers' lack of linguistic capital, in respect of their subject knowledge, because they were caught in the safety net of each school's learning community. Again, it is not possible to generalise from this finding because the focus was on a small number of schools in one region that had its own identity and history in terms of responses to difference.

In terms of challenges, the strength of support available from the county bilingual support team was something that challenged my preconceptions. It would be easy to assume that teachers and county advisors working in a region with 92% of its population white British, would have some fixed views about 'difference' and limited understanding of second language acquisition.

However, in the three interviews with the bilingual support team leader Frances, and in those with most of the teachers, it was clear that this was not the case. This will have meant that the linguistic field in this county had the potential to support schools with guidance that rested on a superior level of understanding of second language acquisition (linguistic capital) and may well

have explained why none of the teachers in the sample were using the centrally provided guidance for EAL teaching published between 2003 and 2009.

The experience of being part of the EAL support in the county was not necessarily always a positive one. Patricia noted a less than encouraging response to her status, and others like her, as leading EAL teachers. At a reception for lead teachers in English, mathematics and other areas, she detected some surprise among colleagues that a lead teacher for EAL was necessary at all in the county. This indicates that even in this local authority with successful systems for supporting EAL, there was possibly an underlying group habitus which did not value the teaching of L2 learners or understand how such teaching might relate to a specific skill set. To some extent this will have been related to the division of the teams working to support EAL and those staff working as supporters of the PNS, which will have resulted in a division of supporting provision for the teaching of English in to L1 and L2 so that commonalities and necessary differences are not made explicit for teachers. This has already been identified as problematic in research relating to the review of curriculum materials for L2 learners (White, et al., 2006) and is a challenge that will need more public airing if local authorities are to question their own practices for supporting staff in teaching English to increasingly diverse pupil populations.

Overall, there was a sense in which support within the linguistic field for these teachers was closely related to human resources rather than paper-based guidance. This suggests that in experiencing the challenge of linguistic difference in their pupils the teachers were habitually reliant on other colleagues rather than on policy directives. There was evidence that support was available from other professionals either in school or at county level, but this may not be the case for settings in other parts of the country where provision for L2 is not as well-defined as it was in both the county and inner-city authorities in this research. There has been a recent attempt to address the need for more understanding of effective L2 teaching in schools in the creation of an EAL-trained workforce (TDA, 2009) but this was an initiative introduced under the previous Labour government and it is unclear to what extent existing policy makers are committed to continuing this focus while undertaking a full National Curriculum review (DfE, 2011b).

This may be unsettling for teachers in schools receiving children with EAL in their classrooms into the future as England's increasingly diverse population moves to towns and villages not previously identified with 'difference' (Vertovec, 2007b). The linguistic field is likely to become more, not less, complex, but the reinvention of a National Curriculum for English borne of the change in government and the political landscape in England since May 2010 has the potential to aggravate rather than improve teachers' need for the kind of stability that generates confidence and with it teacher effectiveness (Day, et al., 2006). If teacher habitus is closely aligned to the field, and the field appears to be one that is subject to continuous policy change (Moore, et al., 2002), then it is perhaps the case that teachers are more likely to draw on the security of an existing repertoire of teaching skills which may not match a new set of pupil needs (Fisher, 2006).

In seeking to analyse teachers' experiences and attitudes to planning for bilingual learners in low-density EAL settings, it was necessary for the interviews to give the teachers space to demonstrate their understanding of their own practice. Analysis in chapter 7 revealed that teachers' expression of their practice for English requires that researchers see demonstration of subject knowledge as something wider than a match to theoretical models of literacy development (Elbaz, 1981; Fenstermacher, 1994). However, it also showed that it was difficult to separate teachers' understanding of their craft from what their beliefs about the teaching of English were. In some ways this may point to limitations in the use of coding as part of grounded theory, and to the deep complexity of analysing the human experience (Charmaz, 2000) which is consistent with Bourdieusian logic, but it also serves to mirror the difficulties many researchers have identified when attempting to explore teachers' beliefs about their English teaching (Pajares, 1992; Poulson, et al., 2001; Westwood, et al., 1994).

The recognition that teachers talk about their practice in ways significantly different from that expressed by policy makers and academics was a key finding, and one that profoundly influenced data analysis as has been discussed in several earlier chapters. As an academic I came to the data with one view of subject knowledge which was that teachers should draw on their theoretical understanding of children's language and literacy development to inform their pedagogical choices in the classroom (Flynn, 2007b). However, the coding of professional and

linguistic capital illuminated the differing ways in which subject knowledge might be defined in primary school teachers and this has contributed to the findings of earlier researchers attempting to draw this complex picture.

Nevertheless, it is not enough simply to say that subject knowledge comes in many guises and to attempt to embrace all as having equal weighting. There is much evidence presented in the literature review to support the power of talk in the curriculum for both L1 and L2 learners and, however these teachers expressed their understanding, the analysis raised concerns over the lack of reference to speaking and listening. The lack of reference to speaking and listening in L1 as part of a programme of language development that sees oral skills as ends in themselves, rather than more commonly part of the journey to written outcomes, is perhaps indicative of English speakers' lack of awareness in general about the richness of their own spoken language. This may have meant that, in not thinking explicitly about first language development, the teachers were less likely to be sensitive to the requirements for pupils acquiring English as a second language. However, the ways in which teachers' subject knowledge were expressed drew quite a complicated picture of this particular issue. In some cases teachers appeared to have detailed understanding of the fact that a curriculum for L2 learners should be talk-based, but they did not necessarily have time to allow this talk to take place. At other times teachers demonstrated their belief that a curriculum for English is largely literacy-based regardless of whether it be for L1 or L2 learners.

In their tendency to talk of literacy skills rather than oral skills, the teachers may have been demonstrating a professional habitus shaped by a curriculum that has been identified by the term 'literacy' since 1998. The word literacy might appear interchangeable with the term English but, it could be argued, the impact has been rather more subversive than to simply give teachers a choice of which word they use to describe the subject. If 'literacy' is assumed to define the processes of reading and writing, and if success is still measured solely in terms of reading and writing, then the teaching of English in England might perhaps be best defined as the teaching of reading and writing; this is not useful if teachers' first efforts in supporting their *second* language learners should be aimed at supporting their *spoken* language growth.

While some credit must be given to policy makers for their attempts to publish materials that might help teachers in creating effective learning environments for L2 learners, the fact that these appear to remain unused by teachers is a concern. This suggests that teachers do not respond well to printed guidance when it attempts to address needs that are too far outside their experience. While the teachers in this study were likely to be fully engaged with publications such as the PNS (DfES, 2006c) and its planning units to support English for L1 learners (PNS, 2006), they were unable to use L2-related documentation with the same confidence, were unable to see its worth or, most commonly, were unaware of its existence. It could be that this group of teachers' inexperience meant that they had trouble seeing the importance of guidance for teaching children with L2 because it was not yet assimilated as a norm in their teaching habitus. However, it is also likely that generic guidance cannot be helpful for teachers who respond to change in their pupil demographic in very different ways. Thus, there is a need for curriculum materials that reflect teachers' individual circumstances at a much more local level and this is probably best produced by the teams managing the teaching of EAL regionally.

The impact of policy on the linguistic field for teachers manifested itself in the interviews in several ways: on the one hand there is a sense in which teachers must react explicitly to policy change, or to change in circumstance such as the arrival of EAL learners, but on the other, a suggestion that the history of the field inhibits the potential for a change in practice because teachers are more wedded than they realise to their habitual practices for the teaching of English (Luke, 2008). These practices have been shaped by a combination of understanding, beliefs, experiences and practical application of theoretical understanding. As we move forward to herald a new National Curriculum for English we might ask ourselves if any of these aspects of teachers' subject knowledge might be acknowledged as important, or will teachers' required subject knowledge remain something that policy makers feel they have the power to impose? If this is the case, we might also ask if it is ever likely that teachers will feel that they have agency to affect change in their practice for fear that it will be subverted by external pressures from government and the inspectorate. This view of teachers as harnessed by their histories has grown directly from the Bourdieusian analysis of their experiences and underscores the value of using the logic of practice to unravel the complexities in the field of education.

Conclusion:

The summarised analysis presented above relates to one researcher's experiences with a small group of teachers in one region of England, and this group were an opportunity selection that did not necessarily represent the experiences of the entire region. Generalisations from the findings can be only tentative, but they add to the existing research base relating to the teaching of children learning English, of interviews with teachers and of the use of Bourdieu in a framework for analysing teachers' beliefs and experiences. Moreover, they chart new ground in analysing the responses of teachers in a region less accustomed to linguistic difference than that commonly represented in research.

In concluding, it is important to acknowledge my pre-existing beliefs about the field of primary education as presented in the introduction, and that these will have been brought to bear in what was perceived in the data and in defining what was important in reporting the data. Thus, the conclusions rest on the researcher's interpretation of the experiences and attitudes of primary school teachers in this particular region as they managed the English language acquisition of newly-arrived Polish children between 2007 and 2009.

The expectations of teachers managing differing pupil needs in English primary schools are very high. It seems remarkable that teachers are required to respond to a learning need as profound as the need to learn English, and that they must at the same time ensure that children who arrive unable to speak English must be measured academically by the same criteria for indigenous children who have learned English since birth. If it takes up to 7 years to become fully bilingual (Macrory, 2006) then it is difficult to understand how this has ever become an expectation. What was both impressive and surprising in the teachers' responses was that they did not question that this perhaps unreasonable demand be made of them. It is possibly the case that in England teachers have developed a professional habitus that believes so much in the need to see only the heart and mind of the child (Mahon, 2006) that acknowledging the need for additional support for teaching L2 learners seems like an admission of failure or one associated with prejudice and exclusion. Although most of the teachers felt anxious about lack of support, particularly financial support to buy in specialist help, there was a sense in which this felt like a personal weakness rather than a flaw in the system that was not necessarily theirs to address.

Nationally an interesting picture was developing in relation to the teaching of English at the point of publication of this thesis. The thinking of an expert panel related to the revision of the National Curriculum (DfE, 2011a) made welcome explicit reference to the need for a classroom experience that allows for the development of oral language skills. However, there is no mention in this influential document of children learning English as an additional language. Similarly OfSTED (2012), in their most recent assessment of the teaching of English in excellent schools in England, fail to acknowledge the rising number of children for whom English will not be a mother tongue. Although one of their illustrative case studies in this report is a school with high numbers of children with EAL, there is no suggestion that pedagogy for English language learners might differ from that described as excellent for native speakers and no explicit mention of the changing pupil demographic which means teachers are supporting language difference while also managing to raise standards in literacy. Whilst there is evidence that good practice for EAL learners is good practice for all learners (Flynn, 2007a) the fact that no reference is made to necessary differences in teacher subject knowledge relating to the teaching of children with EAL means that teachers are actively encouraged by published commentary to view English teaching in the generic ways common to the inexperienced teachers in this research.

Also of interest nationally were contradictory observations (NALDIC, 2011) from NALDIC who act as a quasi-watchdog for the ways in which schools are able to support their English language learners. On the one hand the need for teachers to ‘understand the needs of’ and ‘adapt their teaching for’ children with EAL is given a place in the revised set of Teachers’ Standards (DfE, 2012) by which all teachers in the profession must abide: transparently, the retention of this aspiration, which was also explicit in the previous iteration of standards for teachers (TDA, 2007) is very welcome. However, set against this ambition, there are on the other hand, observations of a reduction in and deterioration of support for children with EAL in recent years (NALDIC, 2011, p. 25). Thus, the linguistic field in England appears to be one in which teachers continue to be exhorted to develop expertise in supporting children’s English language acquisition whilst having to draw on increasingly limited resources with which to do this.

If the population of primary schools in England is likely to become more diverse (Vertovec, 2010), then there is a corresponding need for a workforce that is equipped to respond to that diversity. The findings from this research suggest that there are pockets of good practice but this is dependent on the presence of teachers with particular types of experience and dispositions on staff teams. Thus, alongside a more localised curriculum for L2, teachers in schools where no member of staff feels confident with L2 teaching need access to specialist support that goes beyond a small number of hours from a bilingual assistant. The creation of an EAL-trained workforce (TDA, 2009) can address this, but such an initiative needs embedding in policy that goes beyond the checking of whether providers of initial teacher education prepare their student teachers for teaching in culturally diverse settings as happens in the current inspection regime. It needs to take account of the fact that experienced teachers also need support and training and that the fact that they can teach English to L1 learners does not mean that they also know how to teach English to L2 learners. The observations cited above from NALDIC would suggest that policy makers are some way from understanding this or the need to allow teachers to respond both individually and locally to their pupil population. The teachers in this research had all worked towards finding a solution to their new circumstances, but one teacher's solution looked different from another's. This diversity in approach and response is probably a professional norm that is not acknowledged explicitly either nationally or locally and therefore not reflected in policy design.

A workforce that can support effectively the needs of L2 learners requires an empirical evidence base on which to ground a shared view of good practice. Andrews (2009) has already noted that such a basis is lacking in England and therefore there is a need for more studies of teachers managing language acquisition in a range of classrooms and settings that will reflect the many and varied experiences of the profession. Such research can usefully draw on a Bourdieusian framework for analysis because it is through this lens that the impact of teachers' histories becomes apparent. It can identify and critique the external pressures working on the collective workforce, and a governmental habitus that assumes both the right to control professionals' lives with policy and the right to berate those same professionals when policies fail.

Teachers are better served by research that listens to their voices and presents solutions that take account of what they may not themselves realise are restrictions on their practice, than by the creation of more layers of ‘guidance’ that are likely to compound the already prevalent sense of initiative overload (OfSTED, 2010). If an empirical basis of good practice for EAL teaching is to be generated, researchers play a significant part in making this happen. Future L2 research must acknowledge the changing face of primary schools in areas not previously associated with ethnic, linguistic or national difference and researchers address their own tendency to focus on children rather than teachers. Furthermore, they should attend to their predisposition of portraying a deficit rather than a positive vision of the teachers of children with EAL. Moreover, the need to unite findings from both psycho-linguistic and socio-cultural studies is hugely important to future understanding of how to support appropriately the needs of children with EAL.

Whilst this research focussed on teachers rather than on children, it was clear that there were some findings specific to the children’s nationality, and this suggests a need for more subtle variation in research relating to the non-English speaking children in a super-diverse England (Vertovec, 2007b). While much of the dialogue analysed for this research draws a picture of harmonious relationships between teachers, children and families from Poland, it cannot be assumed that the same is true for all nationalities. Polish families in this study had emerged, in the eyes of their children’s teachers, as very successfully bi-cultural and this of itself may mean that children of other ethnicities whose families do not traditionally have this level of confidence and social capital, or English low-income families, may not compare well: more research into teacher-response to other communities within English classrooms is much needed to test this hypothesis. Furthermore, analysis of national data sets pertaining to the attainment of pupils who are ‘white other’ needs a much more finely tuned response to accommodate the tracking of pupils from nationalities associated with the ‘new migration’ (Favell, 2008).

Perhaps fundamental to supporting any likelihood of a shift towards classrooms that can support the English language acquisition of children whose home language is not English, is the need for a significant shift in the linguistic field. The invisible, to English speakers, dominance of English as a global language, and the assumption that the curriculum for the teaching of English is designed centrally, place limitations on the potential for any change in the field to take place

which might accommodate a change in pupil demographic. These assumptions mean that policy is unlikely to be positioned to take account of any subtleties in the interpretation of how English might be taught because successive governments' preoccupation appears to be with assessed outcomes rather than with fine-tuning teaching approaches that can take account of linguistic difference.

National linguistic habitus assumes native-English speakers, that teachers can infinitely adapt their practice despite limitations in previous experience and subject knowledge, and that shortcomings in understanding can be tackled with a focus on raising standards of attainment that takes very little account of the journey towards such an aspiration. Thus, while teachers may harbour much potential to do well by their English language learners in terms of their linguistic capital and their caring habitus, they are currently impeded by the restrictions of the linguistic field from realising this fully. The diverse outcomes reported in this research show that the constructs of field, habitus and capital play out quite differently according to circumstance. This suggests that teachers require a much more subtly conceived approach to policy-making for the teaching of the English and the curriculum for English; an approach that acknowledges individuality in the profession and its pupils and that can be allowed to look different in different contexts.

Word Count 83,478

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Letters to schools requesting permission to interview teachers

Appendix 2 Research contracts and project information sheet

Appendix 3 Interview questions

Appendix 4 Electronic interview transcripts

Appendix 1a



Head of School of Education: Professor Anne Williams

Direct Dial (Naomi Flynn): 01962 827218

Email: Naomi.Flynn@winchester.ac.uk

Friday December 1st 2006

Dear

I am writing as a follow up to a letter you have received recently fromof theEthnic Minority Achievement Service. In her lettermentioned that I am hoping to carry out some research in to the ways in which teachers are coping with the recent increase in Polish children in (name of county) schools. The purpose of this letter is to give you more details about the research in order for you to consider whether you might be able to take part.

My own teaching background is almost exclusively in inner-London schools where the majority of schools expect to have some children with English as an additional language. My Headship was of a school where fewer than 50% of the children were white British and the children spoke 25 different languages. My most recent research has resulted in a book *The Learning and Teaching of Reading and Writing*. For this book I researched the practice of effective teachers of literacy in inner city classrooms where EAL was the mainstream. In these classrooms the majority languages tended to be Asian or African. I would now like to turn my attention to the teaching of Polish children because they represent a relatively new group in (name of county)schools and because there is very little research related to the issues for them learning English. There is also very little research relating to the issues for teachers of EAL children outside in classrooms outside the larger cities.

I am not yet sure how the research might shape itself. The research is not intended to judge teachers in any way; simply to extract information about processes that work for developing Polish children's spoken and written competence in English. It may be that I simply observe teachers and the children, and interview them over a period of months. It is also possible that it might develop in to action research in which the teacher researches his/her own practice in more of a partnership with me. A decision as to how the research might evolve would be taken

following informal meetings with the teachers and any other relevant school staff in the early part of next term. The main period for gathering evidence would be the academic year 2007/8. This feels a long way off, but it will be necessary to fine tune the research design in the intervening months as it is for a PhD and the rigour involved is considerable. Some pilot work would be carried out in the Spring and Summer terms of 06/07.

If you think that you might be interested in taking part in this research, I would be very grateful if you would return the accompanying slip in the SAE. An indication of interest at this point in no way commits you to taking part in future research, but only to some initial contact with me in the New Year to explore possibilities.

I very much look forward to hearing from you and thank you for your time in reading this letter.

Kind Regards,

Naomi Flynn. Senior Lecturer in Education & PGCE (Flexible Route) Programme Manager

Appendix 1 b

POLISH CHILDREN IN (name of county) SCHOOLS

EXPRESSION OF INTEREST REPLY SHEET

My school is/I am interested in considering whether to become part of your research project, and would like you to contact us/me to arrange an initial meeting. *Please tick as appropriate.*

Yes ☐

No ☐

School name and address	
School telephone	
Relevant Staff contact names and roles	
Email contact addresses where possible/practicable	
A brief commentary that explains your schools' current situation with Polish children	
Some indication, if practical, of times when I can come in and meet with you.	

Thank you very much for your time and interest in filling in this reply sheet.

Please return it using the SAE to Naomi Flynn, Faculty of Education, University of Winchester, Hampshire, SO22 4NR

Appendix 1c



Head of School of Education: Professor Anne Williams

Direct Dial (Naomi Flynn): 01962 827218

Email: Naomi.Flynn@winchester.ac.uk

Monday May 14th 2007

RE: Polish Children in (name of county) Schools project

Dear ,

It was a pleasure to meet with you last term in order to carry out the preliminary interview for my research. Interviews with all the schools participating were fascinating and I am currently analysing the transcripts with a view to establishing the next stage in the research process.

I enclose a transcript of the interview for you in order that you can read it for accuracy, and have enclosed a reply slip and SAE for you to confirm its accuracy or to suggest changes. All names, including that of the school, have been reduced to initials or changed completely in order to ensure confidentiality.

I hope to have a clearer view of what might happen next by mid June, and would like to set up a further meeting with you and/or relevant staff in order that we draw up a research design and a research contract for interviews and, if appropriate, observations, during the academic year 2007/8. It seems likely that the research will differ slightly with each school depending on the particular strengths or issues that the schools will allow me to focus on. For this reason, the research design for your particular school will be one that we negotiate together at the next meeting. In this way staff who wish to be involved will understand and have a say in how they are involved from the outset.

I will contact you during June to arrange a mutually convenient meeting date.

Thank you again for agreeing to be a part of this research project.

Kind Regards,
Naomi Flynn,
Senior Lecturer in Education & PGCE (Flexible Route) Programme Manager

Appendix 2a

Project Information Sheet

New arrivals, new challenges; the experiences of primary school teachers managing the English language acquisition of Polish children in (name of county) schools

Notes for staff

What is this project?

The project forms the basis for my PhD. I am interested in tracking the experiences, over time, of teachers in (name of county) primary schools who have Polish children in their classes. The project will take the form of a series of conversations with teachers, and some observations of their practice *but only if they are happy for this*. I am also interviewing LA staff and Polish community members.

Why Polish children?

This group of new arrivals is currently under-researched and seem to be part of an unexpected phenomenon since Poland's accession to the EU in 2004. I want to identify the experiences and attitudes of (name of county) primary school teachers towards planning for bilingual learners in low-density EAL settings, and the recent influx of Polish children provides a clear and current focus.

Why in (name of county)?

The bulk of research relating to the teaching of pupils with EAL is done in inner-city settings and usually among children with Asian languages. I am interested to see the practice that goes on in areas not commonly perceived as being associated with cultural and linguistic difference

Why English Language Acquisition?

My earlier research observed effective teachers of literacy in inner city settings, and I explored how their practice also supported second language acquisition. As English language is the passport to coping in the English school system I want to look specifically at strategies in place to facilitate the learning of English for Polish children, and teachers' understanding of how these work.

What might you ask me at interview?

Interviews will be conducted as informally as possible, and I hope that you will be able to ignore the audio recorder. Although I am always interested in hearing your general observations about your Polish children at any time, I will have some set questions with me. For example, for the first interview these will be:

1. What are your views on how English speaking children best develop their use of English for speaking in class?
2. What about for reading and writing? What sort of things would you say are important in your pedagogy?
3. Does this differ for children learning English as an additional language?

4. How do you feel about the need for primary school teachers to teach English to new arrivals?
5. What, at this point in time, would you describe as key issues for you (successes and barriers) in developing spoken and written English in your Polish child?

Do you want to observe me teach?

It is important that participants are not anxious and realise that I am not here with an inspection hat on. As a researcher, if you are happy for me to observe you, I will simply record what I see that is relevant to English language acquisition for your Polish children.

I am very grateful for your interest in this project.

Naomi Flynn

Appendix 2b

Participants' Consent Form

New arrivals, new challenges; the experiences of primary school teachers managing the English language acquisition of Polish children in (name of county) schools

Research contract for schools and individual participants 2008/9

Name of Researcher: Naomi Flynn, Senior Lecturer, The University of
Winchester

School Name:

Staff Member Name:

Position:

I agree to take part in the above project and understand that any data collected as part of our involvement may be used in publication.

I understand that I will have access to any data collected during this research

I understand that I have the right to withdraw my consent and participation at any time

Please tick as appropriate; there is no expectation of involvement beyond interviews unless expressly stated by participants:

I am willing to be involved in the following parts of the research design:

1. Participation in interviews throughout the academic year at mutually convenient times arranged between me and the researcher. ☐
2. Observations of my practice in classes with Polish children present ☐
3. The writing of a reflective journal of my experiences with teaching Polish children during the project ☐
4. Participation in focus group discussion with other schools/teachers in the project at a future date ☐

Signed:

Date:

Appendix 3a

First interview question set to the second set of teachers

First interview questions – Autumn 08

1. What are your views on how English speaking children best develop their use of English for speaking?
2. What about reading and writing?
3. Does this differ for children learning English as an additional language?
4. How do you feel about the need for primary school teachers to teach English to new arrivals?
5. What, at this point in time, would you describe as key issues for you (successes and barriers) in developing English in your Polish children?
 - a. What are your best support mechanisms (people? resources?)

Appendix 3b

Exemplar set of questions from the follow up interviews

QUESTIONS FOR DEE – SECOND INTERVIEW July 2008

1. Talk to me about the progress of your two Polish children since we last met. How is their spoken English? What about reading and writing? How did they perform in the KS 1 SATs?
2. We talked a lot about the detail of your classroom practice in terms of supporting both your English speakers and your second language learners develop spoken English. Has this changed at all over the year? I was wondering particularly if having a higher percentage of EAL children in your class has changed the way you might deliver any subject area.
3. You cited an interesting example of where children were engaged in oral storytelling and drama; do you see this as a useful tool for developing spoken English in your bilingual children? Have you continued to use this? Do you think the revised PNS gives you more freedom to develop this in your delivery?
4. Your role as SENCO clearly informs your practice. How has the support from the school in Southampton developed? Have you been able to instigate new assessment procedures for bilingual learners as you had hoped?
5. You mentioned the very high degree of involvement of the Polish parents in their children's education. Can you identify why this is? Has it remained consistent over the year?

Appendix 4

Interview transcripts on attached CD Rom